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DEMOSTHENES
THE FIRST PHILIPPIC.



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DEMOSTHENES. *Philippicae I.*

...

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

EDITED, AFTER

C. REHDANTZ,

BY THE

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Καὶ δὴ ποτε καὶ ἐνεθυμήθην, τί ποτε τοὺς τότε' ἀνθρώπους (the contemporaries of Demosthenes) ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ταῦτα πᾶσχειν εἰκὸς ἦν. ὅπου γὰρ ἡμεῖς, οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπηρετημένοι τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πεπονθότες, οὕτως ὑπαγόμεθα καὶ κρατούμεθα καὶ ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἄγῃ πορευόμεθα· πῶς τότε Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤγοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν τε καὶ ἰδίων ἀγώνων, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκείνου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἧς εἶχε, τὴν αὐτοπάθειαν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδεικνυμένον, κοσμοῦντος ἅπαντα καὶ χρωματίζοντος τῇ πρεπούσῃ ὑποκρίσει, ἧς δεινότατος ἀσκητῆς ἐγένετο—Εἰ δὴ τὸ διὰ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν ἐγκαταμισγόμενον τοῖς βιβλίοις πνεῦμα τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει καὶ οὕτως ἄγον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν (corrupt), ἧς που τότε ὑπερφυές τι καὶ δεινὸν χρῆμα ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων.

Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀλικαρνασσεῶς

περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος κ. 22.

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THE Speeches of Demosthenes and the other Orators are quoted by reference to the *sections* given in the Teubner series of Texts.

The following abbreviations are used ;

Goodwin's Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb	M.T.
Goodwin's Elementary Greek Grammar	G.

Reference is made to the *pages* of these books unless sections are specially mentioned.

PREFACE.

THE Notes in this volume are, with few exceptions, paraphrased from those of the late C. Rehdantz in his 'Neun Philippische Reden.' His text (sixth edition, Leipzig, 1881) has been followed throughout. The sixth edition has had the great advantage of Professor Blass's revision as far as the end of the first part, which contains the Olynthiacs and the first Philippic. The second part contains the remainder of the Philippics and two ample indexes, one rhetorical and stylistic, the other grammatical and lexical. Wherever Rehdantz refers to these indexes in his notes to Phil. i. I have extracted the substance of the passages referred to.

The text adheres closely to the Parisian codex Σ and the Florentine L, see Introd. ch. vi. The Introduction consists of a selection, translated from that of Rehdantz, omitting the earlier and later portions which bear less directly on the first Philippic. The aim of the Introduction is, "in regard to Athenian history in general, to place the reader as nearly as possible on the same standpoint as that occupied by the hearer just before the beginning of the speech. Thus, as Demosthenes was a political orator, an outline is given of the political relations amidst which he moved and acted, and of all matters of fact and

military or financial topics introduced in the speech. And, as his influence was mainly due to the power of his eloquence, the perfection of which has at all times interested mankind in his works, a short sketch is given of the history and development of Greek oratory."

Rehdantz does not profess to give perfectly adequate translations in his notes. This, he thinks, is often impossible even for the best scholars. He endeavours to make the reader feel and understand what Demosthenes meant. And generally he makes grammatical and lexical explanation subordinate to "the analysis of the far more praised than demonstrated power (*δεινότης*) of Demosthenic expression," see the close of the Introduction. The peculiar principle of his edition is, as Prof. Blass says, a preponderance of rhetorical and aesthetical explanation. And in his preface and elsewhere Rehdantz insists on frequent reading aloud and learning by heart as essential to a proper understanding of the orator.

It will not be found, however, that the notes are scanty as regards grammatical and general explanation. Frequent references are given to Prof. Goodwin's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses*, the number of which I have somewhat increased: I have also added references to the same author's *Elementary Greek Grammar*.

I am indebted to Mr J. H. Bullock of Trinity College for much kind help in the correction of the proofs. He has also contributed the list of references to the grammars.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

The Reign of Philip, from 359 as far as 352.

IN 359, on the death of his brother Perdiccas in battle with the Illyrians, at a time of great national danger and difficulty, we find Philip, the third son of king Amyntas and Eurydice, coming forward as the deliverer of Macedonia. When young he had been taken as a hostage, probably by Pelopidas, to Thebes, where he acquired a thorough Greek education and found opportunity to take lessons in the art of war from Epaminondas, the greatest general of the time and the inventor of a new method in tactics. At the same time, as Thebes was then the centre of Greek politics, he was enabled to gain a clear view of the disturbed condition of Greek affairs. After three years stay he returned to Macedonia. His brother Perdiccas gave him a small chieftaincy with a certain independency, on the advice of a pupil of Plato, Euphraeus¹ of Oreus, who had great influence with the court at Pella to the disgust of the war-loving philosophy-hating Macedonians. Here Philip had secured the nucleus of

¹ Plato, Epist. v.

a military power, when on the death of Perdiccas in 359 he undertook the government, at first as regent for the son of Perdiccas, a minor, soon afterwards in view of the perilous circumstances of the time, at the
2 request of the Macedonians, in his own name. The Illyrians were masters of nearly the whole country; the Paeonians were invading it on the north, on the east the Thracians with Pausanias a candidate for the throne, on the south another pretender, Argæus, whom the Athenians supported. Philip, though only twenty-three years old, shewed rare energy and acuteness in this crisis². He inspirited the Macedonians by his fiery eloquence, bought their retreat of the Thracians and Paeonians, and made known at Athens his readiness to give up all claims to Amphipolis and at the same time his earnest wish to enter into an alliance with Athens as his father Amyntas had done. Next he attacked and completely defeated Argæus, sending back however to Athens all captive Athenian
3 combatants with all their belongings. Thus the desired peace with Athens was effected in 358, by which Philip recognized the town of Amphipolis as an Athenian possession³. He then overcame and subdued the Paeonians, and in a severe engagement inflicted such a defeat on the Illyrian chieftain Bardylis that the whole of Macedonia was liberated and
4 the country won eastward of Lake Lychnis. Meanwhile the Athenians had done nothing to take possession of the isolated Amphipolis, which Philip was now furiously assailing on every available pretext.

² Diodorus, xvi. 2--4.

³ Dem. c. Aristocr. § 121.

He pressed the town so hard, that the inhabitants of their own accord offered submission through their envoys at Athens if the Athenians would save them from Macedonian bondage. The Athenians had just returned from their victorious campaign against the Thebans in Euboea and sent Chares with a mercenary force to the Hellespont: so that their support might be confidently expected. But the attempt to gain Athenian support was thwarted, when near its accomplishment, and at the same time an offer for negotiations at Athens made by the Olynthians, who had become interested in the matter, was rejected, in consequence of a deceitful letter from Philip, in which he promised, after occupying the town of Amphipolis, to hand it over to the Athenians. In fact the Athenian ambassadors, Antiphon and Charidemus, who were sent to Macedonia in 358, had made secret proposals to the king to the effect that he should assist the Athenians in the occupation of Amphipolis, in return for which service they promised him Pydna. This agreement, to which Philip consented, was discussed by the ambassadors on their return as a secret with the Boule only⁴, in order to escape the observation of the Pydnaeans. The Athenian people were inclined to 5 believe in the king's promises the more readily as all their attention and exertion was directed to the Social War then just breaking out. Amphipolis was assailed by blockade, Pydna by storm, and both, by treachery, fell into Philip's hands 357—356⁵. He retained both towns and entered into an alliance with

⁴ Olynth. ii. 6.⁵ Ol. i. 5. 9. 12.

the Olynthians, to whom he not only ceded Anthemus, for the possession of which Macedonia and Olynthus were contending, but also made a present of the Athenian possession Potidaea⁶, the key of the peninsula Pallene, which he had taken in 356 after a long blockade. The Athenian colonists (κληροῦχοι) were plundered of their property⁷ and obliged to return home. So, without proclaiming the termination of the peace by open declaration of war, Philip had inflicted the most sensible losses on the Athenians. And though, with bitter resentment, they thought of revenge and punishment⁸, yet all energetic opposition was hindered, partly by the great sacrifices required by the contemporary Social War, partly by the indisposition of the citizens to undertake personally the trouble and danger of a campaign: the only expedition (ἀπόστολος) of which we hear, that for the
 6 relief of Potidaea, came too late⁹. As long as Olynthus was at enmity with Athens and in alliance with Philip, the king could turn his arms eastward with his mind at ease as regarded the most imperilled side of his kingdom. From Amphipolis in 356 he brought aid to the town Crenides among the gold-mines of Pangaeum, then besieged by the Thracians, and founded there, after subduing the whole district as far as the river Nestus, a new town Philippi, where mining was carried on with such energy that the yearly revenue amounted to more than 1000 talents. In vain did Demosthenes in his first political speech recommend energetic preparations against the real

⁶ Phil. ii. 20. Ol. i. 9.

⁷ de Halonn. 9. 10.

⁸ Phil. i. 43.

⁹ Ol. i. 9. Phil. i. 35.

enemy of Athens, king Philip¹⁰; the attention of Athens was entirely directed to Persia, partly of her own accord, partly by artifice. Accordingly when the chieftains of the Illyrians and Paeonians, with Cersobleptes of Thrace, were preparing for war in common, Philip attacked each separately and compelled their submission¹¹, and to ensure it, seems, later on, to have established strong fortresses in the Illyrian districts¹². Afterwards he escorted a Theban 7 army, on its way to Asia to help the rebel satrap Artabazus, along the Thracian coast, where he was compelled to halt by the Odrysian chieftain Amadocus who prepared for vigorous resistance: next, after losing a division of his troops in engagement with the Athenian Chares, while however by stratagem he saved his little fleet from the Athenian's attack, he captured on his return the Greek towns Abdera and Maronea¹³, and in the summer of 353 laid siege to Methone, the last town in alliance with Athens on the Macedonian coast. The town was occupied before the auxiliary expedition from Athens arrived¹⁴.

The occupation of Methone opened the safe path 8 into Thessaly, to which Philip had already turned his attention, and whither he was now invited by the Aleuadae Simus and Eudicus of Larissa as an auxiliary against the tyrants of Pherae¹⁵. The latter were supported by the Phocian Onomarchus, but, after two defeats in the latter part of the year 353, the Mace-

¹⁰ de symmor. 11. 41. cf. de Rhod. lib. 6. 24. Phil. i. 42.

¹¹ Ol. i. 13. Phil. i. 4. 35.

¹² Phil. i. 48.

¹³ c. Aristocr. 183.

¹⁴ Phil. i. 35. Ol. i. 9. 12.

¹⁵ Ol. ii. 14.

donian phalanx and the Thessalian cavalry were victorious in a terrible battle in 352 over the mercenaries of Phocia and Pherae. Onomarchus fell: a few fugitives escaped in the Athenian ships cruising on the coast of Magnesia. The tyrants Lycophron and Pitholaus quitted the town of Pherae, which Philip left free: but he quartered a Macedonian garrison in its harbour Pagasae, to the relief of which an Athenian expedition once more came too late¹⁶. He also continued to occupy Magnesia, partly in order to prevent the Athenians from landing, and on his own account to reach out a helping hand from thence to the Euboeans against Athens: in any case to secure for himself the important alliance with the Thessalian confederation¹⁷.

- 9 Thus at three points, at Amphipolis, on the Thermoic Gulf (Methone), and at Pagasae, had Philip's power reached the sea, of which the Athenians had hitherto been undisputed masters. No doubt the sea-fight against Alexander of Pherae had already, in 361, proved troublesome to the Athenians. Now Macedonian privateers were harassing the Athenian islands, Lemnus and Imbrus, seizing at Geraestus on the southern promontory of Euboea many a corn-ship destined for Athens, and even venturing as far as the coast of Attica at Marathon¹⁸. But when in the autumn of 352, Philip in person made an excursion southward from Thessaly to force his way into Hellas and annihilate the enfeebled Phocians, the Athenians called out all their resources. A powerful fleet and a

¹⁶ Ol. i. 9. 13. 22. Phil. i. 35.

¹⁷ Ol. i. 13. 22. ii. 7.

¹⁸ Phil. i. 34.

citizen-army were speedily equipped, with which Nausicles secured on the sea side the narrow pass of Thermopylae occupied by the Phocians¹⁹. Philip re- 10 treated, but immediately marched off in the direction of Thrace, where the Athenians had but just established themselves in the Chersonese which had been ceded to them five years before : colonists having been sent to Sestus from Athens, when that town, which had revolted from Athens, probably in the Social War, was stormed by Chares in 353. Philip now interfered in the disputes of the Thracian chieftains, which he settled as he pleased²⁰, in alliance with Perinthus and Byzantium compelled king Cersobleptes to send his son as a hostage to Macedonia, and laid siege to Heraeum Teichus near Perinthus. The rapid advances of Philip had not only caused alarm at Athens, but had made the Olynthians also so anxious, that they again drew closer to the Athenians, and in the first instance perhaps concluded a peace with them²¹. Accordingly Philip attacked the Olynthians²² before he had well recovered from a severe illness which had attacked him at Heraeum Teichus²³. The difficulty seems however to have been settled for the time ; perhaps Philip was managing matters, as Demosthenes said not long after²⁴, τὰ μὲν εἶκων τὰ δ' ἀπειλῶν, and he seems to have succeeded in quieting the Olynthians²⁵, and first of all to have thwarted attempts at closer approximation to Athens. Athens

¹⁹ Phil. i. 17. de fals. leg. 84. ²⁰ Ol. i. 13. c. Aristocr. 8.

²¹ Ol. iii. 7. c. Aristocr. 109. ²² Ol. i. 13. Phil. i. 17.

²³ Ol. i. 13. iii. 4. Phil. i. 11. ²⁴ Ol. i. 3.

²⁵ de Chers. 59. Phil. iii. 11.

stood alone and discouraged, when Demosthenes with his first Philippic²⁶ oration took up the battle against Philip.

II.

Demosthenes's entrance into political life. 354—351.

- 11 When Demosthenes, at the age of about 30, entered on a statesman's career, the respect for and power of the Athenians in Greece had sunk to a low ebb. Moreover they were at variance with the Persian king Ochus, especially since he had by threats compelled Athens to make peace with her revolted allies. When therefore news arrived of enormous preparations which Ochus was making against Egypt and Phoenicia, many anticipated a new Persian expedition against Greece; the orators' tribune overflowed with warlike ardour and allusions to Salamis; men were busy calling on all Greece to rise²⁷, and were eager to declare war against Persia, while Greece was more than ever divided and Athens destitute of money and allies. At this time the young Demosthenes was the first and almost only orator²⁸ who, in the oration *περὶ συμμοριῶν* (354, B.C.), while he recommended prudent preparations and proposed a new division of classes to facilitate them, counselled that Athens should with full preparation wait for the

²⁶ Delivered in the Archonship of Aristodemus, Olymp. 107. 1. B.C. 352—1. Dionys. Halicarn. Epist. ad Ammaeum, c. 4.

²⁷ Epist. [Philipp.] 6. ²⁸ de Rhod. lib. 6.

attack, which in fact was never made. In Demosthenes's opinion the preparations should have been made to meet the real enemy : who was, as he clearly indicated, king Philip²⁹. Meanwhile the Phocian 12 war had broken out in Greece, and occupied the Thebans to such an extent as enabled the Lacedaemonians to hope for the recovery of their lost supremacy at least in the Peloponnese. As Messene was allied to Athens by defensive treaty³⁰, they assailed Megalopolis the new capital of Arcadia. Both Megalopolitans and Spartans applied to Athens. Here for some years there had been two parties following the leading statesmen, the one of which sought the welfare of Athens in connexion with Thebes, the other with Sparta. The head of the latter, Callistratus, was expelled from Athens in 361 on a charge of high treason, and returning without leave was put to death. At the head of the Boeotian party stood the old Aristophon the Azenian, a man who boasted of having been prosecuted seventy-five times under the *Graphe Paranomon* without being once condemned. He had himself joined the general Chares in prosecuting the other generals, Timotheus and Iphicrates. Statesman and general, in the good times of Athens united in one person, were in the fourth century completely distinct, as war was carried on mainly by means of mercenaries : accordingly an intimate connexion between a statesman and a general was useful and even necessary³¹. On the present

²⁹ de symmor. 11. 41. de Rhod. lib. 6. 24.

³⁰ pro Megalop. 9.

³¹ Ol. ii. 29. de Chers. 30. Aeschin. c. Ctes. 7.

occasion the statesmen of the one party declared for an alliance with Megalopolis, and so indirectly with Thebes, the others for supporting Sparta, who for her part promised to recover Oropus for the Athenians. Again Demosthenes, in the oration *ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν*, (beginning of 352,) prudently took the middle course: the interests of Athens required that neither Thebes nor Sparta should be predominant in Greece, Athens therefore, as the disinterested guardian of Greek freedom, without breaking with Sparta, should protect the Arcadians, if the latter renounced their alliance with Thebes.—As Athens did not protect Megalopolis, and Thebes was only once, at the end of the summer of 352, in a position to give assistance, the enemies of Sparta in the Peloponnese turned their attention to king Philip of Macedon.—With equal clearness Demosthenes explained, in 352 in the oration *κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους*, in a state prosecution, that the advantage of Athens forbade her favouring any of the different Thracian chieftains exclusively, because by the division of their power her own possession of the Chersonese was best insured³².

- 13 At the end of this oration he bitterly criticized the negligence of the citizens, with regard to the administration of government at the time³³. It was conducted chiefly by Eubulus the Anaphlystian, at whose instigation especially the peace with the allies was brought about. As the head of the peace-at-any-price party he soon became the most influential Athenian statesman and the most dangerous opponent of

³² *Introd. supra*, § 10.

³³ c *Aristocr.* 204. 206. 207. 209.

the upward-striving Demosthenes. For he was supported by the tendency of his time, which was disinclined to all moral earnestness of life, without which least of all can a democracy exist, and ever eager for new enjoyment which should cost no trouble. Ever capable of noble emotions, but incapable of lasting exertion and self-denial, the sovereign people chose to surrender itself to the guidance of vulgar leaders, and, indulging its measureless passion for holyday and show at the expense of the state's most vital resources, had sacrificed in festal rejoicing supremacy, freedom and country. Eubulus worked in harmony with this feeling. While, as treasurer, 354—350, he improved by careful management the revenues of the state which had fallen considerably, he added to the already numerous disbursements from the Theoric fund³⁴ and so accustomed the people more than ever to enjoyment at the state's expense. Thus were all the means 14 for regular and energetic warfare cut off at the time when the young Demosthenes, in the year 351 as is generally believed, delivered the first Philippic oration³⁵. We can find no trace of any consequences of this speech, yet we may assume that there was ground for the apprehension expressed at its close. For though Demosthenes in this speech proceeded very cautiously in dealing with the leading statesmen, however bitterly he upbraided the people, yet

³⁴ *infr.* 18.

³⁵ *supr.* 10. The special occasion for the speech may have been the appearance of Macedonian privateers in the Aegæan. *Phil.* i. 34.

Eubulus must have felt at once the decided opposition in which the energetic nature of Demosthenes stood to his own administration, and the above-mentioned³⁶ critique of his policy in the *Aristocratea* could not have remained unknown to him.

III.

Finance and military matters at Athens. Military affairs of Macedonia.

- 15 The power of Athens at this time was not unimportant³⁷, but the requisites for mobilizing it, native energy and capability of self-sacrifice on the part of the citizens, fixed and sure rules of finance, no longer existed. The ordinary revenues of the state from the farming of state property, like the mines of Laurium, from the poll-tax on the Metoeci, the customs, judicial fees and fines³⁸, and lastly from the contributions (*συντάξεις*) of the allies, which about 340 must have amounted altogether to 400 talents³⁹, were more than sufficient for a time of peace: but war soon exhausted the treasury, and patriotic as the Athenians had been, the voluntary contributions of individuals (*ἐπιδόσεις*) sufficed only for the most pressing requirements; in time of war recourse was had to a direct property-tax (*εἰσφορά*). It was collected by the institution of the *συμμορίαι* or tax-societies. The 1200 richest citizens, 120 from each Phyle, were divided into 20 *Symmoriae*,

³⁶ *supr.* 12.

³⁷ *Phil.* i. 40. iii. 70. *de symmor.* 13. 30.

³⁸ *de Chers.* 69. *Phil.* iv. 45. ³⁹ *Phil.* iv. 38.

each containing 60 persons: from these again were set apart every 15, the richest in each case, altogether therefore 300. These were bound, on publication of the tax-list, to make payment in advance on behalf of the other members of their Symmoria and the other citizens assigned to it. Every Symmoria had its president (*ἡγέμων*) and manager (curator, *ἐπιμελητής*)⁴⁰. The same arrangement was adopted about 357 for the 16 Trierarchia also, the most costly service which the well-to-do citizens had to undertake for the state⁴¹. Every Symmoria answered, as a body and individually, for the equipment of a number of ships regulated according to requirement, so that sometimes more sometimes fewer members associated (as *συντελεῖς*) for each one ship. Here also the richest members above mentioned advanced money in prepayment, which they recovered when the expense was redistributed among all the parties concerned. But in this way they could not only escape free of charge themselves by falsifying the accounts of money expended: they also injured the interest of the state as often as they let the Trierarchia to the lowest contractors: and yet delays were possible, as every one, who believed himself overburdened by the incidence of the tax or by being selected to serve the Trierarchia, was at liberty to avail himself of the legal remedy *ἀντίδοσις*: he offered exchange of properties to the person, as he alleged, unduly favoured. All disputes arising from this source belonged to the jurisdiction of the generals⁴². On them devolved also

⁴⁰ Ol. ii. 29.⁴¹ de Chers. 69.⁴² Phil. i. 36 and c. Phaenipp. 5.

the nomination of the Trierarchs (i.e. those who besides their contributions in money had to serve personally as captains), and all selection from the number of citizens liable to service⁴³, besides a round of duties, which rarely permitted the presence as leaders in the field of more than one or two of the ten generals nominated yearly. Under them ten taxiarchs commanded the infantry, two hipparchs and ten phylarchs the cavalry⁴⁴. These continued in office in time of peace, and cost the state in supplies
 17 alone nearly 40 talents a year. But the power, prosperity and security of Athens depended mainly on her fleet. The state itself had the war-ships (*τριήρεις*, ships with three rows of oars) built on its wharves (*νεώρια*⁴⁵), probably twenty every year—this was a special business of the council of the 500 for the time being—and kept under shelter in the docks or sheds (*νεώσοικοι*), of which there were 372 in Demosthenes's time in the harbours Piraeus and Munychia. Thus if a naval expedition was decreed by the people, the dock-keepers were instructed to deliver the ships and ships' furniture in their keeping to the trierarchs appointed to superintend the starting of the expedition. These saw the ships launched from their sheds into the basin of the harbour⁴⁶ and brought to the pier. Here the ships were fitted out, i.e. the wooden and hanging gear (*σκεύη*) taken on

⁴³ All citizens between the ages of eighteen and sixty, except those who were legally exempted from military service for a time, as the *βουλευταί, τελώναι, χορεῦται*.

⁴⁴ Phil. i. 26. ⁴⁵ de Chers. 45.

⁴⁶ c. Polycl. 6. de cor. trierarch. 4. de Chers. 74.

board. This business fell to the trierarchs as well as keeping the ships in good condition and repair during the expedition. The crew (πλήρωμα) of the trireme, i.e. the rowing-crew (ναῦται, about 170) and marines (ἐπιβάται, about 12), were supplied by the state by selection from those liable to serve, whether citizens or metoeci, and received pay from the state. On the other hand the trierarch enlisted and paid at his own expense the serving-crew (ὑπηρεσία, including steersman, cook and carpenter), and often, if the crew supplied him was deficient in number or condition or deserted, had to supply the deficiency himself. When the crew had gone through such exercises as were possible, and ballast and provision had been taken on board, the ship was ready to sail. The lowest pay given by the state amounted to two obols a day and as much more in maintenance-money (σιτηρέσιον⁴⁷); the crew of a trireme cost therefore daily at least $1\frac{1}{3}$ minae, monthly 40 minae. The land-soldiers (στρατιῶται) received similar payment, the citizens serving as ὀπλίται: the cavalry received three times as much. In naval expeditions the latter were carried over in cavalry transport-ships (τριήρεις ἱππαγωγοί⁴⁸), the former in their proper transport-triremes (τριήρεις στρατιώτιδες). Besides these there was a proportionate number of vessels of burden (πλοῖα), to bring the provision and various kinds of army baggage, such as artillery.

⁴⁷ Phil. i. 28. Xen. An. vi. 2. 4. Τροφή comprised both μισθός and σιτηρέσιον. Ol. i. 27. Phil. i. 23, τρέφειν. Thuc. vi. 93. 4.

⁴⁸ Phil. i. 21. Old ships of war were used for this purpose, for the first time in the year 430. Thuc. ii. 56. 1.

If we take the expedition to Pylæ⁴⁹, for instance, to consist of 50 ships of war, and reckon the support of 50 ships of burden as equivalent to that of 25 ships of war, the fleet cost in pay and maintenance-money alone 100 minae a day, and the army which accompanied it, 4000 ὀπλίται and 400 cavalry, 35 minae a day. Accordingly if the expedition lasted three months, the treasury had to meet an extraordinary
 18 expenditure of 200 talents. It was necessary therefore to economize in time of peace: it was also possible. For the ordinary expenditures of the state, on ship-building and on cavalry, the salaries of the lower officials, those of the council, of the popular assembly, and of the courts of justice, lastly the outlays⁵⁰ for the

⁴⁹ supr. 9. de fals. leg. 84.

⁵⁰ Phil. i. 35. The Greater Panathenaea were celebrated at the end of Hecatombaeon (before the middle of August) in every third year of the Olympiad, the lesser Panathenaea in the same month every year; the conduct of the numerous contests, musical and gymnastic, was entrusted to ten Athlothetae: at the close came the general festal procession to the temple of Athene. In it appeared nearly all citizens capable of bearing arms (Thuc. vi. 56 and 58), and the Knights were conspicuous, in this as in all other processions (Phil. i. 26), under their ἑπαρχοι and φύλαρχοι; and in the time of Demosthenes officers of infantry, the ταξίαρχοι, were also present. The other festivals, and the Panathenaea as far as related to sacrifice, were conducted by the superintendents of sacrifices (ἱεροποιοί), who were, according to Aristotle in Etym. Magn. 468. 56, κληρωτοὶ ἄρχοντες, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, οἱ τὰ τε μαντεύματα ἱεροθυτοῦσι, καὶ τι καλλιεργῆσαι δέη καλλιεροῦσι μετὰ τῶν μαντέων, καὶ θυσίας τὰς νομιζόμενας ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ τὰς πεντετηρίδας ἀπάσας διοικοῦσι πλὴν Παναθηναίων.—Of the four festivals of Dionysus, which occurred in winter and spring, the last, the μεγάλη

numerous regular state-festivals (*ἱερὰ δημοτελῆ*), were amply covered by the revenues: in quiet times there were even surpluses. Such sums were very considerable in the earlier period when respectable amounts of tribute came in from the allies. Such surpluses according to the old laws had to be stored for a war-fund (*στρατιωτικά*): but Pericles had already taken from this treasure the Theoricon or Show-fund introduced by him, which was distributed among the poorer citizens generally for seats in the theatre at the festivals with which theatrical exhibitions were connected. These distributions recommenced with the restoration of the democracy in 403, and were extended to an increasing number of festivals and enlarged in amount. At length a special treasury-board was formed for this purpose, the ten superintendents of the Theoricon (*οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ*), and these were ultimately at the instigation of Eubulus entrusted with a control over the whole financial administration. These superintendents were appointed by popular election: consequently Eubulus, as he was constantly reelected, was during a long period a member of this board and naturally the leading member. He satisfied the demands of the almost insatiable people, who even in war-time could not bear to dispense with the *θεωρικόν*⁵¹. The natural consequence was that for every extraordinary undertaking it became necessary to levy the detested pro-
δοτικά (Phil. i. 35), was celebrated by musical and dramatic exhibitions during a period of five days at the end of March.

⁵¹ Justin. 6. 9.

19 perty-tax (εἰσφορά)⁵². But there was yet another circumstance which crippled the energy of Athenian warfare. When we consider that in the above-mentioned expedition to Pylae 8800 men were engaged on land, for nearly every heavy-armed soldier and horseman had one attendant with him, and perhaps 15,000 men at sea, we see that, in a total population of Attica of some 230,000 men, including probably 20,000 citizens, 10,000 metoeci and 120,000 slaves excluded from military service, we have here an enormous fraction of the entire population, and one which could not possibly be levied in modern times. The urgent necessity of levying mercenaries (ξέροι) in frequent and protracted wars arose from this disproportion, quite irrespective of the fact that the Athenian manufacturers and merchants shrank from the inevitable loss of business as well as the bodily fatigue, while the poorer classes found the pay for attendance in the assembly and on juries together with the show-fund sufficient for existence⁵³. The state had practically no control over these 'enemies of all the world,' as Isocrates called them⁵⁴, even if it kept to its obligation, which was rarely the case, and paid their wages punctually: the most it could do was to call its generals to account. To the mercenaries, as to the Lanzknechts of the sixteenth century, the highest offices were open. Distinguished leaders of mercenaries, like Charidemus of Oreus⁵⁵,

⁵² Ol. i. 20. ii. 31. iii. 19. Phil. i. 7.

⁵³ Ol. iii. 33.

⁵⁴ de Pace 46. Dem. Phil. i. 24. 29. 45. de Chers. 24. c. Aristocr. 61.

⁵⁵ Ol. iii. 5.

obtained Athenian citizenship and the rank of general.

While therefore on the one side many circumstances contributed to damp the military ardour of the Athenians and cripple the energy of their warfare, and on the other side the tactics and strategy of the Hellenes remained essentially unaltered⁵⁶, they had to encounter, in the king of the rough and youthful Macedonians, not merely an enterprising conqueror, but the creator of a new military system. The phalanx was formed by calling out all free but not noble Macedonians. This was done, not in the case of every campaign, but still often enough⁵⁷ for it to acquire a considerable amount of practice in warfare. But the war-loving young men of rank Philip gathered permanently about himself, and formed of them and of the numerous foreigners who hastened to join him, the corps of the *ἑταῖροι* (mounted guards, those of the highest rank), the *ὑπασπισταί* (esquires on foot), and the *πεζῆταιροι*⁵⁸. This creation of a standing force had, it is true, a precedent in the powerful body-guard of Dionysius and in the army of Jason of Pherae, but Philip was the first to bring it to complete efficiency. Demosthenes must have recognized and often laid emphasis on the advantage of this revolution in the conduct of war. As early as his first Philippic⁵⁹ he proposed a corresponding counter-armament: a proposal to the necessity for

⁵⁶ Phil. iii. 48.

⁵⁷ Ol. ii. 16.

⁵⁸ Ol. ii. 17. Schol. to Dem. p. 23. 2. Harpocration s. v. *πεζῆταιροι*.

⁵⁹ Phil. i. 21. iii. 49.

Xen. Hieron. c. 10.

which nothing contributed so much as the depression in that Hellenic spirit which had been wont to make a warrior of every citizen. Besides this the famous Thessalian cavalry was at Philip's command, and all Greece supplied mercenaries to the king who could pay. Thus Philip had the means as well as the will, instantly and at every season of the year, to concentrate troops on any point. And as the walls of so many Greek towns stood in his way, he paid special attention to the perfection of siege-implements (*μηχανήματα*⁶⁰).

IV.

*A short sketch of the history of Oratory*⁶¹.

- 21 Eloquence began to be a subject of instruction at Athens in the time of the Peloponnesian war, when Gorgias of Leontini charmed the Athenians with his artistic declamations. The secret of this art consisted in the study which was now first intentionally given to the outward form. It was as if a new world had been discovered, and men eagerly sought instruction from the sophists in all the elements both of knowledge and of speech. They studied the sound and accent of syllables, the etymology and synonymy of words, poetical epithets and metaphors, the position of the separate clauses, and the harmony of sentences.

⁶⁰ Including *καταπέλται*, which shot arrows and torches, and *λιθοβόλοι*. Cf. Phil. iii. 17.

⁶¹ See Mueller and Donaldson, *Hist. of Greek Literature*, Vol. II., Jebb's *Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus*, and, in German, the works of Blass, Volkmann, and Westermann.

We are amused when we hear how Plato first recognized and described substantive and verb as distinct parts of speech, and at the enthusiasm with which paronomasiae, antitheta, isocola, homœoteleuta were received, but perhaps we are not the best possible judges concerning the form of speech. Soon the different parts of an oration were distinguished and patterns were constructed for proœmia and epilogues. Presently the mere faculty of beautiful expression delighted large audiences, and there was formed, in imitation of Gorgias, a peculiar species of eloquence, the speech for display or show or festival (*γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν*). It is not necessary here to discuss the dangers of this tendency: it is enough to state that the epideictic eloquence developed with great rapidity the innate feeling for form, and refined to a high degree of sensitiveness the already susceptible ear of the Athenian. Naturally the practical effect of this influence was felt in the two places where oral statement was a necessary requirement of Greek life, the court of justice and the popular assembly. The court ²² of justice is the proper nursery of artistic eloquence. Thus, as according to Hellenic law every man pleaded his own case orally, certain directions were put together, first in Sicily, concerning disposition and argumentation, for the parties in a suit, from which a theory of eloquence (*τέχνη ῥητορική*) was gradually developed. Thrasymachus of Chalcedon published a collection of commonplaces as examples for exciting compassion, for causing and appeasing anger, for creating suspicion and for justification against suspicion. He was also regarded as the inventor of the

rounded period and of the so-called middle style which was more select than the language of everyday life but still far removed from the pomp and monotonous sentence-formation of Gorgias. Another, Theodorus of Byzantium, improved the system of instruction in the disposition and the parts of the speech down to the smallest particulars. The school of Isocrates distinguished the four following parts of the speech: (a) προοιμιάσασθαι πρὸς εὖνοιαν, (b) διηγῆσασθαι πρὸς πιθανότητα, (c) ἀγωνιάσασθαι πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν or πιστώσασθαι πρὸς πειθώ, the *argumentatio* or demonstration, (d) ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι πρὸς ἀνάμνησιν or ἐπιλογίσασθαι πρὸς ὀργήν ἢ ἔλεον, the epilogue divided into an ἀνακεφαλαιωτικόν, and a παθητικὸν μέρος. The object, which forensic eloquence (γένος δικανικόν) aimed at, is expressed in the notorious sentence: τὸν ἡττονα λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν "to win the victory for the weaker cause by the power of speech." The famous oligarch Antiphon (died 411) was spoken of at Athens as the composer of a τέχνη, while Lysias soon ceased to give theoretical instruction: both were famous at the same time as composers of judicial speeches for others (λογογράφοι). Still more famous was Isocrates (died 338), both as a master in the epideictic style, to which his πανηγυρικός belongs, and teacher of many statesmen and generals who guided the fortunes of Athens before and at the time of Demosthenes. As is well known, Isocrates bestowed special care on the subject of expression (λέξις), that the speech might flow on smoothly in rhythmic euphony, avoiding every harshness. Cicero says⁶² of

⁶² Brutus viii. § 32.

him “*primus intellexit, etiam in soluta oratione, dum verum effugeres, modum tamen et numerum quandam oportere servari.*” No doubt Isocrates transferred the 23 same rules to his lessons in the third and most important kind of oratory, popular or deliberative or political eloquence (*γένος δημηγορικόν* or *συμβουλευτικόν*). We learn its nature and extent best from Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*. This work, composed in a philosophic spirit, and the somewhat older *περὶ ῥητορικῆς*, intended for practical use and routine, compiled probably by Anaximenes of Lampsacus, are the only *τέχναι* remaining from the classical times of Greece; both appeared in the best period of oratory, though not long before the death of Demosthenes. As the principal parts of *Rhetoric*, we find: (1) *ἐκ τίνων αἱ πίστεις ἔσονται* (*inventio* with *argumentatio* or *confirmatio*); (2) *τὸ περὶ τὴν λέξιν* or *ἐρμηνίαν* (*elocutio*); (3) *πῶς χρῆ τάξαι τὰ μέρη τοῦ λόγου* (*dispositio*). According to Aristotle *τὸ δικανικὸν γένος* is divided into *κατηγορία* and *ἀπολογία*, it treats *περὶ γεγενημένων* and has for its object *τὸ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον*; *τὸ ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος* is divided into *ἔπαινος* and *ψόγος*, it treats *περὶ παρόντων* and has in view *τὸ καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρόν*; *τὸ συμβουλευτικὸν γένος* is divided into *προτροπή* and *ἀποτροπή*, it treats *περὶ μελλόντων* and has in view *τὸ συμφέρον ἢ βλαβερόν*. The main point with Demosthenes is expediency but he frequently takes in as adjuncts the beautiful (honour) and the just⁶³. Aristotle thus defines the materials of symbuleutic oratory: *σχέδον γάρ, περὶ ὧν βουλεύονται πάντες καὶ περὶ ἃ ἀγορεύουσιν οἱ*

⁶³ Phil. iii. 16.

συμβουλευόντες, τὰ μέγιστα τυγχάνει πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ περὶ τε πόρων, καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ἔτι δὲ περὶ φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας, καὶ τῶν εἰσαγομένων καὶ ἐξαγομένων, καὶ περὶ νομοθεσίας: (compare the different departments of modern ministers). He then goes into detail on each of these five points, see Rhet. i. ch. iv.

V.

Demosthenes as an Orator.

- 24 Demosthenes studied rhetoric with Isaeus of Chalcis of whom we have remaining 11 speeches written for other persons with reference to matters of inheritance, and a large fragment of a twelfth. It is accordingly not improbable that he supported the young Demosthenes in the suits he undertook against his guardians and helped him in the preparation of the speeches in those suits, a conjecture which we find in ancient writers: yet these speeches show on careful examination a peculiar individuality throughout, quite distinct from that of Isaeus. It is said that Demosthenes, soon after attaining his majority, took Isaeus into his house for several years, and Isaeus, a master of forensic rhetoric, and profoundly skilled in Athenian law, devoted this time exclusively to the instruction of his studious and gifted pupil⁶⁴. In any case his teaching was more practically useful for the events of real life than that of the more distinguished

⁶⁴ Pseudo-Plutarch. Vit. dec. Oratt. 839 E, 844 B. Dion. Hal. Ἰσαῖος, c. 3.

Isocrates. Demosthenes seems never to have heard the latter himself though he studied his writings⁶⁵: similarly he had no acquaintance, personally at least, with the philosopher Plato. His favourite work, which the legend makes him copy out eight times and learn by heart, was the history of the Peloponnesian war by Thucydides; probably the kindred spirit of the young man was charmed by the high tone of the author and the grandeur of the period he described, while the future statesman and orator was impressed by the brilliant clearness of detail, the inventive power in oratorical dialectics, and the weightiness of expression. Demosthenes had but a small fortune and yet we find 25 him paying for this expensive instruction, defraying the housekeeping of a family in good position, and discharging the costly services to the state, many of which he undertook of his own accord. He found the means by becoming a *λογογράφος*⁶⁶, that is, he wrote speeches for litigants to pronounce in court, and thus acquired reputation and property⁶⁷, and perfected by practice against opponents and before judges that debating power which made him irresistible in political oratory. The story is told of Pitt that before he had a seat in parliament he used to attend the meetings of both

⁶⁵ i. e. his speeches, not a *τέχνη*.

⁶⁶ Like Antiphon in the first instance, who consequently was assailed by the comic poets; then Lysias, Isaeus, and others. The name *λογογράφος* was somewhat disreputable (Aeschin. c. Tim. 94, de F. L. 180, c. Ctes. 173, Dem. F. L. 246), the thing was in great request.

⁶⁷ Which he kept up *δανείζων ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς*, Plutarch. Comp. Demosth. et Ciceronis, c. 3.

houses on every important debate and to go over again at home the speeches which he had heard, weighing carefully the arguments on both sides improving the expression and altering the phraseology. Plutarch gives a similar account of Demosthenes⁶⁸. To be in request as a *λογογράφος* at Athens a man must have talent knowledge practice and confidence. Demosthenes possessed all these at an age often spent in pleasures, his iron industry roused him to work before daybreak, which gave rise afterwards to the sneer of his opponents, that his speeches 'smelt of the lamp⁶⁹.' Of the speeches which go by his name, the greater part of which are genuine, exclusive of the five made on his own account with reference to his guardians (*λόγοι ἐπιτροπικοί*), about thirty were composed for private suits (*λόγοι δικανικοὶ ἰδιωτικοί*), about twelve in state-causes (*λόγοι δικανικοὶ δημόσιοι*), the first of these being the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Androtion. It is characteristic of Demosthenes that nearly all his *δικανικοὶ δημόσιοι* are for the prosecution⁷⁰ while on the contrary the speeches of Cicero are mostly for the defence. In one of these cases Demosthenes appeared personally: in 354, as advocate (*συνήγορος*) for Ctesipus son of Chabrias against Leptines, he opposed a law which had been proposed and carried by the latter repealing all grants to deserving men of exemption from the ordinary *λειτουργίαι* of the state. Leptines

⁶⁸ *ibid.* c. 8.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* c. 8. c. 11.

⁷⁰ Not from inhumanity, see the story in Rutilius Lupus, ii. 9. Demosthenes, cum ei quidam obiecisset matre Scythia natum, respondit, non miraris igitur quod Scythia matre barbara natus tam bonus et clemens evaserit.

on this occasion represented the pecuniary interests of those liable to serve, whose turns recurred somewhat oftener in consequence of the exemptions: while Demosthenes preferred the honour of the state⁷¹. The 26 next step was more difficult, from the court of justice to the orators' tribune, and Demosthenes appeared eminently unsuited to become a public speaker. In the first place the difficulty of making oneself readily intelligible to an audience of six thousand or more in the open air necessitated a physical strength which Demosthenes did not seem to possess. His voice was weak, his breathing short, he was unable to pronounce the letter ρ ⁷² correctly. Besides his attitudes and gestures were awkward: and as he had not yet attained the power of giving easily-comprehended expression to the depth and overflowing fulness of his thoughts, he was embarrassed in the presence of the people, and his first attempts were drowned in their outcries and laughter. Nor is this wonderful: if we picture to ourselves this motley assemblage, the sovereign people, full of southern vivacity, as easily moved to unseasonable gentleness as to sanguinary outbursts of passion, inordinately fond of jest, spoiled by distinguished actors and orators⁷³, we can but conclude, that more

⁷¹ M. Croiset, *des idées morales dans l'éloquence politique de Démosthène*, Paris, 1874, p. 51.

⁷² In the busts of Demosthenes which are considered genuine a peculiar formation is noticeable, especially from a sideview, in the lower lip, which retreats from the upper and appears to adhere closely to the teeth.

⁷³ The Athenians crowded to hear their speeches, for the sake of mere aesthetic enjoyment.

than the strength of a Pericles was required to guide, for any length of time, by the power of oratory alone, these degenerate descendants of the men of Pericles's day. In this Demosthenes succeeded after many efforts and only because his character was essentially akin⁷⁴ to that of Pericles⁷⁵. The spark that kindled his ambition fell when the young Demosthenes saw the celebrated orator Callistratus plead his own cause in the affair of Oropus with brilliant success before an admiring audience. Not a line of Callistratus is preserved; it is very possible that the manner of his oratory made more impression and lent him greater lustre than the matter. When Demosthenes, discouraged by the failure of his first efforts, almost despaired of becoming a popular leader, an actor is said to have drawn his attention to the effect of oratorical delivery (*ὑπόκρισις*⁷⁶). He took such intense pains to attain this delivery, which he himself called the first, the second and the third thing in eloquence⁷⁷, that we hear

⁷⁴ Plut. Dem. c. 6. He shared also Pericles's dislike to extempore speaking. Ps. Plut. Vit. x. Or. p. 848 c.

⁷⁵ "Only Pericles and Demosthenes had intellect enough to understand the democracy, and spirit enough never to despair of it. Both knew and both suffered from the faults of their time; but, far from retiring in false pride, or peevishly washing the hands in innocence, they strenuously opposed every deterioration, and found a hearing when proposing bitter and salutary measures, because not even their opponents could gainsay the noble love and manly hopefulness which prompted their endeavours." Raumer, Letter to Boeckh. [Cf. de Cor. 97.]

⁷⁶ Arist. Rhet. iii. 1. Dion. Hal. π. τ. λεκτ. Δημ. δειν. c. 53.

⁷⁷ Cic. de Or. iii. § 213. Brut. § 142. Or. § 56.

with astonishment of his extraordinary and persistent exertions⁷⁸, but he acquired it perfectly to the marvel of his contemporaries⁷⁹. Even with the help of something analogous, a noble piece of tragic acting⁸⁰, we can scarcely form any conception of the effect of this delivery, or of that strength and modulation of the voice with which Demosthenes in powerful periods twice lowered the tone and twice raised it to its loudest swell⁸¹, traversing the whole scale of human feeling in a single breath. For although one dominant tone is heard throughout the oratory of Demosthenes, that of moral indignation, yet this tone is broken, like lightning flashes, in such stormy interchange, that scarcely one sentence is spoken like the next, and even the separate ideas of one sentence require each its special varying emphasis⁸², until the hearer is carried away⁸³ by all the sensations of bitterness hate anger pride and pity, and, as was said of Demosthenes himself on the orators' tribune⁸⁴, is possessed by a Corybantic enthusi-

⁷⁸ Plut. Dem. cc. 6. 7. 11. Vit. x. Or. p. 844. Cic. de Or. i. § 260. Tusc. iv. § 44, de fin. v. § 5.

⁷⁹ Cic. de Or. iii. § 213. Brut. § 142.

⁸⁰ Demosthenes himself studied the delivery of great actors. Ps. Plut. p. 845. Quintil. xi. 3. 7.

⁸¹ Cic. de Or. i. 261. Quum spiritus eius esset angustior, tantum continenda anima in dicendo est assecutus, ut una continuatione verborum (id quod eius scripta declarant) binæ ei contentiones vocis et remissiones continerentur.

⁸² Quintil. xi. 3. 44. Vitemus igitur illam, quæ Græce *μονοτονία* vocatur, una quædam spiritus ac soni intentio... ibid. 51.

⁸³ Dion. Hal. p. 1022.

⁸⁴ Plut. Dem. cc. 9. 11.

asm. No one may hope to understand the speeches of Demosthenes until he can understand such a delivery⁸⁵; a matter of no easy comprehension for this very reason, that Demosthenes is always free and far
 27 removed from pathetic declamation. I give here in brief the opinions of some modern critics, who have on the whole justly estimated the main substance of his eloquence. Brougham says: "Without any ostentation of profound reflection or philosophical remark, with few attempts at generalization, without the glare and attraction of prominent ornaments, with extremely few, and these not very successful, instances of the tender and pathetic, with a considerable degree of coarseness, and what we should call vulgarity...and absolutely without any pretensions to wit⁸⁶ or humour, to have acquired the reputation of the greatest orator whom the world has ever produced is a peculiarity which belongs to the character of Demosthenes." He then adopts the positive opinion of Hume: "Demosthenes's manner is more chaste and austere than that of Cicero; could it be copied, its success would be infallible over a modern assembly. It is rapid harmony exactly adjusted to the sense: it is vehement

⁸⁵ Isocrates Philipp. § 26. Panathen. 17. Aeschin. Tim. 94. F. L. 49. 85. 156. 157. Ctes. 207, and the story in Pliny, Ep. ii. 3. 10. iv. 51.

⁸⁶ On the lack of wit see Dion. Hal. π. τ. λ. Δημ. δειν. c. 54. Longinus *περὶ ὑψους* c. 34. Cic. Or. 90. Quintil. vi. 3. 2 and 21. [But the sarcasm of Demosthenes is admirable, and sometimes very amusing to the reader, whatever it may have been to the audience. See § 36 of Phil. i. and a still better instance, Ol. iii. 4. 5, where note the word *κενάς*.] τὸ πικρὸν Jebb, Att. Orr, i. 35.

reasoning without any appearance of art: it is disdain anger boldness freedom involved in a continual stream of argument." And wherein lies the secret of this power? Brougham asks, and answers: "To the mind of Demosthenes was never present more than one idea—his subject and nothing but his subject." Villemain rightly says: "Le première vertu de son style c'est le mouvement:" and to the question, what enabled Lord Brougham to acquire his profound understanding of Demosthenic eloquence? he replies: "La trempe vigoureuse de son esprit, ses longs exercices, ses luttes fréquentes du barreau et de parlement, ce tempérament, pour ainsi dire, endurci au feu de batailles et de tant d'années militantes et glorieuses⁸⁷. Voilà comment on arrive à Démosthène; voilà comment on peut le sentir et le rendre." This is true, no doubt, but the vast labours especially of German scholars have not therefore been in vain; they have laid the foundation, as regards the facts and the language, on which it is possible to build a right understanding of the orator.

VI.

Manuscripts. Editions. Conclusion.

There are many manuscripts of Demosthenes's 28 works remaining, about 170, many not yet collated

⁸⁷ [Unfortunately however for Brougham's version of the *de Corona*, a sound knowledge of Greek did not accompany the advantages which Villemain enumerates. See the *Times* review, 1840.]

at all, very few throughout all the speeches⁸⁸. Modern scholars since Imm. Bekker⁸⁹ have taken a manuscript of the tenth century, now in Paris and generally indicated by the letter Σ, as almost the absolute standard of Demosthenic criticism⁹⁰. Nearly allied to it is a Florentine manuscript of the thirteenth century (I.), which in 1860 Rehdantz collated for *Phil. II.* and *de Chersoneso*, giving a list of its very few variations from Σ. His edition adheres to Codex Σ, except where an error of transcription seems obvious. For the explanation of Demosthenes much has been done since the *apparatus criticus et exegeticus* of G. H. Schaefer⁹¹, which incorporated the contributions of earlier scholars. Matters of history and detail have been treated both in general works on Greek History⁹² and Antiquities, and in monographs on Demosthenes⁹³ and his time⁹⁴. As regards Demosthenic usages and the grammatical and logical explanation generally, especially of the Philippic orations, copious

⁸⁸ *Prolegomena critica in Δημοσθένους αὐ δημογορίαι* ed. Voemel.

⁸⁹ *Oratores Attici*, 1823, where the division into sections is adopted throughout.

⁹⁰ So in the critical editions of Baiter-Sauppe, Voemel, Dindorf, and Weil. As early as Lucian's time good codices were sought for, especially the copies of one Atticus, to which it is thought codices Σ and L may be referred. Shilleto felt less confidence in Σ, see pref. to *de fals. leg.* pp. vi. vii.

⁹¹ *Lipsiae et Londini*, 1824—27, re-edited by Dindorf, Oxf. 1849.

⁹² Especially Grote and Curtius.

⁹³ Especially Arn. Schäfer, *Dem. u. sein. Zeit*, 1856—58.

⁹⁴ Böhnecke, *Forschungen*, 1843, *Dem. Lyeurg. Hyper.* 1864.

illustrations have appeared, both in editions⁹⁵ and in dissertations and journals⁹⁶. But disproportionately little has been done for that, which may not be neglected in any classical work of style, but in the masterpieces of the orators must be indispensable for a complete explanation—a clear development of their perfection in point of form⁹⁷. To this belong the arrangement of the ideas, the choice of expressions, the structure of the clauses, even the sounds and rhythm of the language, in a word, a vivid reproduction of the speech following the creative power in its operation, and showing how each thought, like metal glowing in the mint, was finally stamped with this form or that. That the thought thus perfected should strike the senses fully and clearly was the task of oratorical delivery, a faculty in which Demosthenes was unsurpassable, as the commentator should here and there at least point out, and the reader should endeavour to realize for himself by repeated reading aloud. One thing more. The study of the

⁹⁵ Vömel, 1829—33. Reuter, 1833. Frotscher and Funkhänel, 1834. Rüdiger, 1833 and 1848. Sauppe, 1845. Dobrenz, 1848. Franke, 1850 and 1871. Whiston, 1859. Fornaciari, Prato, 1866. T. K. Arnold, 1868, ed. 3. Heslop, 1868. Courtoy, Mons, 1875. Weil, Paris, 1873. Westermann-Müller, ed. 7, 1875. [The edition of R. Mounteney, Fellow of King's, 1731, deserves mention.]

⁹⁶ Especially by Funkhänel.

⁹⁷ Rehdantz gives a very brief list of continental writers on this subject, and of English only J. Geddes, *Essay on the Composition etc. of the Ancients*, Glasgow, 1748; and Brougham's *Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients*, Vol. vii. of his works, Edinburgh, 1872.

so-called figures of speech has fallen into easily explicable discredit⁹⁸. But, analogous to those of the body, they are gestures of the language, and therefore unarbitrary and vigorous forms, in which the mind under powerful emotion endeavours to attain to fuller expression, and to make the corresponding fuller impression: they have their natural truth and justification. Their names for the most part reach back to the time when artistically-creative life still beat in Greek veins, and there is no doubt that at all the passages, which one generation handed down to another as striking instances of rhetoric, the hearers of Demosthenes once thrilled, as did Dionysius long afterwards: but as the energy of mind and feeling died away, these figures of speech ceased to be understood: later, used as the masks of an imperfect or false pathos, they became offensive to men of true and natural feeling. Demosthenes indeed is ever free from false pathos; with him word and idea, thought and expression, are always in harmony, and therefore his language is true to nature: but Demosthenes never thought and spoke without pathos: his language is the outcome of anger and pain, and he alone can understand it who finds the counterpart of such pathos in his own heart.

⁹⁸ On some of the kindred *σχήματα διανοίας* (changes in the form of the thought itself, while *σχήματα λέξεως* refer to the positions of the individual words), see Müller's *Greek Literature*, Vol. II. p. 112, Eng. trans. How highly the ancients valued the study of these *σχήματα* may be seen from the speeches of Isocrates and in the rhetorical writings of Cicero.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ
ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

1 Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὔτι-
 θετ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως
 οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο,
 εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων,
 ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τότε ἂν καὐτὸς ἐπει-
 ρώμην ἢ γιγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν
 πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει
 καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς
 εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
 παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέονθ' οὗτοι συνεβού-
 λευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλευέσθαι.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνν
 φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὃ γάρ ἐστι χεῖριστον αὐτῶν
 ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ
 μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο;
 ὅτι οὐδὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν δεόντων ποιούν-
 των ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει· ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ
 πάνθ' ἢ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ'
 3 ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτ' ἐν-
 θυμητέον καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰ-
 δόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ'
 ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος

οὐ πολὺς, ὥς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνά-
 ξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείναθ'
 ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.

41 τίνος οὖν εἵνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῇτ' ὧ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεάσησθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλατ-
 τομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶν φοβερόν, οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγωρῇτε,
 τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι
 χρώμενοι τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς
 ἐκρατέετε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασιν τὸν
 νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταραττόμεθα
 ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρήν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν 4
 ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δυσπολέμητον οἶεται τὸν
 Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρ-
 χούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντ'
 ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λογι-
 σάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ' ὅτι εἴχομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι Πύδναν καὶ Ποτεΐδαιαν καὶ
 Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκεῖον
 κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων
 ἐθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερ' ὑπῆρχε, καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως ἢ κείνῳ. εἰ 5
 τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην,
 ὥς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι
 τοσαύτ' ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον
 ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν
 ἐπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατ' ἂν δύναμιν.
 ἀλλ' εἶδεν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦτο καλῶς
 ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρί'
 ἄθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ'
 ἵπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς

ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούν-
 6 των. καὶ γὰρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ
 πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν
 ἐλὼν τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα
 ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν
 τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οἷς ἂν ὁρώσι 42
 παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἅ χρέη.
 7 ἂν τοίνυν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς
 τοιαύτης ἐβελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ-
 περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, οὐ δεῖ καὶ
 δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,
 πᾶσαν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἕτοιμος πράττειν
 ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν
 ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, — συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς ἂν
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσητε γενέσθαι, καὶ παύσησθ'
 αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσῃ ἐλπίζων, τὸν
 δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξῃ· καὶ τὰ
 ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθ', ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ
 κατερραθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, καὶ κεῖνον
 8 τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ
 παρόντα πεπηγέναι πράγματ' ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκείνον καὶ δέδι' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάνυ νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως
 ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν
 ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ
 νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα
 νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν
 βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημί
 9 δεῖν ἤδη. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρᾶγμα,
 οἱ προελήλυθ' ἀσελγείας ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν

ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ'
 ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει,
 καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται μένειν
 ἐπὶ τοῦτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι προσπεριβάλλεται καὶ
 43 κύκλω πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους
 περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 10
 πόθ' ἂ χρή πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν
 νῆ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις ᾗ. νῦν δὲ τί χρή τὰ γιγνόμεν'
 ἡγέισθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις
 μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων
 αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθ', εἰπέ μοι, περιιόντες
 αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο
 γὰρ ἂν τι καινότερον, ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίου
 καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν;
 τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ. τί 11
 δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ,
 ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ
 οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύ-
 ξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι 12
 καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν,
 ἥπερ αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελού-
 μεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο, ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον
 μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασιν τεταραγμέ-
 νοις ἐπιστάντες, ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσαισθε, ὥς
 δὲ ἱὺν ἔχετ' οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν
 δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς πα-
 ρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέ- 13
 λοντας ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἐτοιμῶς, ὥς ἐγνωκότων

- ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ
 τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς, ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν
 τοιούτων πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς οἶομαι, καὶ τὸ πλήθος
 ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὔστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τὰλλ'
 ὥς ἂν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρα-
 σκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς
 14 ὑμῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντ'
 ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε·
 μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καινὴν παρεσκευὴν 44
 λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. οὐ
 γὰρ οἱ “ταχύ” καὶ “τήμερον” εἰπόντες μάλιστ'
 εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γ' ἤδη γεγενημένα
 15 τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλύσαι δυνηθεῖμεν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν
 δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ
 πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνησεται, ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα
 πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν
 ἂν κακῶς. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν,
 μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν
 οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμ' ἤδη τὸν
 ἔλεγχον δώσει, κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.
- 16 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τριήρεις
 πεντήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαί φημι δεῖν, εἴτ'
 αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὥς, εἴαν τι δέη,
 πλευστέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβῶσιν. πρὸς δὲ
 τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν τῶν ἱππέων ἵππαγωγοὺς
 τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω.
- 17 ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης
 ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας εἰς
 Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυνθον καὶ ὅποι

βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παρα-
 στησαι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς
 ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὐβοίαν καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ
 φασιν εἰς Ἀλίартον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρῶην εἰς
 45 Πύλας, ἴσως ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε. οὗτοι παντελῶς, οὐδ' 18
 εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἂν τοῦθ', ὥς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν,
 εὐκαταφρόνητόν ἐστιν· ἵν' ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον, εἰδὼς
 εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς (εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς· εἰσὶν γάρ,
 εἰσὶν οἱ πάντ' ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ' ἡμῶν
 αὐτῶν πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ παρι-
 δὼν ταῦτ' ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμ-
 ποδῶν πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν
 ἐνδῶ καιρόν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐστιν ἂν πᾶσιν δεδόχθαι
 φημί δεῖν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶομαι·
 πρὸ δὲ τούτων δύναμίν τιν' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι 19
 φημί προχειρίσασθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἢ συνεχῶς πο-
 λεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκείνον ποιήσει. μὴ μοι μυρίους
 μηδὲ δισμυρίους ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους
 ταύτας δυνάμεις, ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, καὶ
 ὑμεῖς ἓνα καὶ πλείους καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ ὄντιν οὖν
 χειροτονήσητε στρατηγόν, τοῦτῳ πείσεται καὶ
 ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω.
 ἔσται δ' αὕτη τίς ἢ δύναμις; καὶ πόση; καὶ πόθεν 20
 τὴν τροφὴν ἔξει; καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν;
 ἐγὼ φράσω, καθ' ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς.
 ξένους μὲν λέγω—καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσεθ' ὁ πολ-
 λάκις ὑμᾶς ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω νομίζοντες
 εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσι-
 μασιν αἰρούμενοι, ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ
 ποιεῖτε· ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαν-

- 21 τες τούτοις προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνηται. λέγω
 δὴ τοὺς πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τούτων
 δ' Ἀθηναίους φημὶ δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ
 ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ,
 χρόνον τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν τούτου,
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἄλ-
 λήλοισ· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ 46
 μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεν-
 τήκοντ' Ἀθηναίους τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πε-
 ζοὺς, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἱππα-
 22 γωγοὺς τούτοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας
 τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ
 ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις
 πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γενήσεται; ἐγώ
 καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδάν, διότι τηλι-
 καύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας
 τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.
 23 Τοσαύτην μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα,
 ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν
 ἐκείνῃ παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη
 καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν
 πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι
 μισθὸς οὐδὲ τροφή, οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι
 δεῖ. πολίτας δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα
 κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν
 ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγείτο
 καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ
 αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἷδ' ἀκούων
 ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίους παραταττόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν
 24 ἐνίκων [οὔτοι] οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐκείνων. ἐξ

οὐ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς, οἱ δ' ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ δέοντος γέγονασιν. καὶ παρακύνψαντ' ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μάλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα, 47 ὁ στρατηγὸς δ' ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς 25 προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπύπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὥς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμῖς, εἰρήνην ἄγετ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; μὰ Δῖ' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γ', εἴποιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν. οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξι- 26 ἄρχους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν; πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ὃν ἂν πέμψητ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν 27 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας οἰκείους εἶναι, ἵν' ἦν ὥς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν; καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.

28 Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτ' ἀκούσαι. τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τοίνυν ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή, σιτηρέσιον μόνον, τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ τάλαντ' ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς· δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταρά- 48 κοντα τάλαντα, εἴκοσιν εἰς τὴν ναὺν μναῖ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ δισχιλίοις τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης δραχμὰς σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἵππεύσι διακοσίοις οὔσιν, ἐὰν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ 29 τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα τάλαντα. εἰ δέ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον τοῖς στρατευομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ τὸ στράτευμ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ. ἐγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἐὰν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχῃ. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων, ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν κελεύω γενέσθαι; τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

30 Ἄ μὲν ἡμεῖς ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δεδυνήμεθ' εὐρεῖν ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμήτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις. 31 Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι,

εἰ τὸν τόπον ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτ', ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθ' ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασιν καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος, καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶν' ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθ' ἐκεῖσ' ἀφικέσθαι. δεῖ ³² τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν

49 —ὑστεριούμεν γὰρ ἀπάντων—ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἡ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασιν ῥαδίως ἔσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, ³³ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ὑφ' ἡμῶν βουλευέσεται· ἡ δ' ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτ' ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι πορίσητε, τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον λέγω, εἴτα καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας τὰς τριήρεις τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῇ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτ' ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς ταμιαὶ καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν ὃ ³⁴ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων

ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέ-
 ρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς
 πλέοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ;
 τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ
 ὥσπερ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ
 Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους
 ᾤχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλα-
 βὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖ' εἰς 50
 Μαραθῶν' ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱεράν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας
 ᾤχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε
 κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε,
 35 βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δήποτ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι
 νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ
 τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων αἰὲ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου
 γίγνεσθαι, ἂν τε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τ' ἰδιῶται
 οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπιμελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ το-
 σαῦτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα, ὅσ' οὐδ' εἰς ἕνα τῶν
 ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν
 ὄσσην οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς
 δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν και-
 ρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς
 36 Ποτεΐδαιαν; ὅτι κεῖνα μὲν πάντα νόμῳ τέτακται,
 καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ, τίς χορη-
 γὸς ἢ γυμνασίάρχος τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ
 τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέ-
 ταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις ἡμέλῃται, ἐν δὲ
 τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ τούτου παρασκευῇ
 ἄτακτ' ἀδιόρθωτ' ἀόρισθ' ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ἅμ'
 ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους καθίσταμεν καὶ
 τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων

πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς
 μετοίκους ἔδοξεν καὶ τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ'
 αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἴτ' ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν ὅσῳ
 ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκ-
 πλέωμεν· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ 37
 παρεσκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων οὐ μένουσιν καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα
 καὶ εἰρωνείαν. ἄς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις
 οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἰαί τ' οὔσαι ποιεῖν
 51 ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ'
 ὕβρεως ἐλήλυθεν, ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν
 ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ.

Τούτων ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων 38
 ἀληθῆ μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέ' ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν, ὅς' ἂν
 τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ
 πράγμαθ' ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημη-
 γορεῖν· εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἢ μὴ προσή-
 κουσα, ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται, αἰσχρὸν ἐστι φενα-
 κίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους ἂν
 ἢ δυσχερῇ πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ
 τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ 39
 χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ'
 αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀξιῶσειέ
 τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὔτω καὶ τῶν
 πραγμάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἵν' ἂν ἐκείνοις
 δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράττηται, καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντ'

40 ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι πλείστην δύναμιν πάντων ἔχοντες, τριήρεις
 ὀπλίτας ἱππέας χρημάτων πρόσοδον, τούτων μὲν
 μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πώποτ' εἰς δέον
 τι κέχρησθε, οὐδὲν δ' ἀπολείπετε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρ-
 βαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. καὶ
 γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται,
 καὶν ἐτέρωσε πατάξης, ἐκεῖσ' εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες·
 προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν
 41 οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε 52
 Φίλιππον, ἐκείσε βοηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, εἰ ἐν Πύ-
 λαις, ἐκείσε, εἰ ἐν ἄλλοθί που, συμπαραθεῖτ' ἄνω
 κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε
 δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖ συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ
 πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προορᾷτ' οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ
 γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα δ'
 ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤκει
 42 τὴν ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν
 τις ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην
 ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται
 καὶ προεῖληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἢ θελεν καὶ μηδὲν
 ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ,
 ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσ-
 χιστ' ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν
 αἰεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέ-
 43 σαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυ-
 μάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μῆτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μῆτ'
 ὀργίζεται, ὁρῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν
 τοῦ πολέμου γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι

Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευταίην οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι
 γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις κωλύσει. εἴτα
 τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν, καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ τὰς
 παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀποστείλητε, πάντ'
 ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθ'; οὐκ ἔξιμεν 44
 αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τιμι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ
 καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου πλευσό-
 53 μεθα; ποῖ δὴ προσορμιούμεθ'; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει
 τὰ σαθρὰ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἐκείνου πράγμα-
 των αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἂν μέντοι
 καθώμεθ' οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιω-
 μένων ἀλλήλους τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέ ποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν
 μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἂν, οἶμαι, 45
 μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, κἂν μὴ πᾶσα,
 καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συν-
 αγωνίζεται; ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα
 κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμ-
 ψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ
 μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθινᾶσι
 τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν 46
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἓν ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν
 πράξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε; ἵποσχέςθαι μέντοι
 καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν
 δεῖν ἔστιν, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν
 ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπο-
 μίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος [ἐκεῖ]
 πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὧσιν,
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκοίσηθ' ὅτι ἂν τύχητε ψηφί-
 ζησθε; τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;

47 Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς ὦ ἄν-
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας
 καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς
 οἵκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν
 μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας
 ὁρᾶν. νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκει τὰ πράγματ' αἰσχύνης,
 ὥστε τῶν στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρί-
 νεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι
 περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραποδισ-
 τῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν θάνατον μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται
 τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ' 54
 ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολε-
 48 μίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαι-
 μονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων
 κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δ' ὡς
 πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυ-
 ριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ—λόγους πλάττοντες
 49 ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν ὦ ἄν-
 δρες Ἀθηναῖοι νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ
 μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτ'
 ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν
 κωλυσόντων ὀρώντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπηρ-
 μένον, οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οὔτω προαιρεῖσθαι
 πράττειν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν
 εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ
 50 εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ'
 ἐκεῖν' εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ ἡμέ-
 τερ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ, καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικεν, καὶ
 ἅπανθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἠλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ

ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εὐρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς
 ἡμῖν ἐστί, καὶ μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐ-
 τῷ, ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθῆσόμεθ' αὐτὸ ποιεῖν· ἂν
 ταῦτ' εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέονθ' ἐσόμεθ' ἐγνωκότες
 καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα
 ποτ' ἐσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλ', ἐὰν μὴ
 προσέχητε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν
 ἐθέλητ', εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτ' ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν 51
 εἰλόμην λέγειν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισ-
 μένος ὦ, νῦν θ' ἂ γιγνώσκω πάνθ' ἀπλῶς, οὐδὲν
 ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ'
 55 ἂν, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν συμφέρον τὰ βέλτιστ' ἀκούειν
 οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοῖσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστ'
 εἰπύντι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶχον. νῦν δ'
 ἐπ' ἀδήλοισι οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενη-
 σομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἂν πράξῃτε
 ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἰροῦμαι. νικῶν δ' ὅ τι
 πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

NOTES.

For the immediate occasion and date of the oration see Introduction §§ 10 and 14.

1 Isocrates (vi. 2) has a similar προοίμιον. Cf. the parody of this *locus communis* in Ar. *Eccl.* 151.

ἐβουλόμεν μὲν ἕτερον ἂν τῶν ἡθάρων
λέγειν τὰ βέλτισθ', ἢν' ἐκαθήμην ἡσυχος·
νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐάσω κ.τ.λ.

εἰ μὲν—προϋτίθετο λέγειν. “if the subject proposed for debate were—.” See Appendix. The imperfect tense, not the aorist προϋτέθη, because the action of the president (ἐπιστάτης of the φυλή πρυτανεύουσα) is supposed to continue during the debate. Cf. the present in Isocr. viii. 15 παρελήλυθα ἀποφανόμενος ἃ τυγχάνω γινώσκων περὶ ὧν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασιν. To this principal condition the special hypotheses εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε and εἰ δὲ μή are subordinate; while ἂν comes early in the apodosis (ἐπισχῶν ἂν), to emphasize the hypothetical character of the sentence, and is repeated with ἦγον and ἐπειρώμην. *M. T.* 62. 3.

τῶν εἰωθότων. Sc. γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι. Appendix.

ἀπεφάναντο. Aor. indic. after ἕως, *until*, referring to a result *not attained* in past time in consequence of the non-fulfilment of a condition. *M. T.* 142, 144 top. The first period, εἰ μὲν—λέγειν, contains an assumed, non-real, condition; the next, ἐπειδὴ δὲ—τυγχάνειν, the real state of the case. The main point of the whole is ἡγοῦμαι—εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν.

ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλ. χρ. “in past time.” Lit. from past time till now, the past being considered as still influencing the present. The local use of ἐκ is similar: ἐκ δεξίας, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τεῖχος. For the Greek preference of the *terminus ex quo* to the *terminus in quo*, cf. the ending *θεν* in *παρὰ τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἀνθρώποις, ἐν τοῖς ἄνωθεν χρόνοις*.

συνεβούλευσαν—βουλεύεσθαι. Intentional word play. Cf. *de Cor.* 239, ἐνεδέχετο—δέχεσθαι. For the form of conditional sentence see *M. T.* 94, 95.

2—12 First, Preparatory part of the Speech.

2 ὁ γάρ ἐστι χείριστον κ.τ.λ., “that which is the worst possible.” A paradox to encourage the audience. It recurs in *Phil.* iii. 5. Note the chiasmus in this sentence; ὑπάρχει (in contrast to the weaker ἐστι) in the emphatic position at the end. “is the best possible foundation for.” αὐτῶν, take with δ. *G.* § 168.

τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; Demosthenes often uses the rhetorical question, which expects no answer and is often answered by the speaker himself. Its object is to awaken the attention of the hearer. *inf.* 20, 25. The other orators seldom use it, except Isaeus, whose pupil Demosthenes had been.

ποιούντων—πραττόντων. Change of verb simply for the sake of variety. So often with prepositions, see *inf.* 43.

ἐπεὶ τοι—εἶχε. “For if you were doing all you should, and yet it were so.”

ᾧ, sc. πράττειν.

προσῆκε. *Impf. ind.* by assimilation. *M. T.* 136. 2. Cf. *Dem. de Chers.*, § 1, ἔδει ὁ βελτιστον ἕκαστος ἡγεῖτο τοῦτ' ἀποφαίνεσθαι.

γενέσθαι. *Aor. inf.* after ἐλπίς ἦν. *M. T.* 33 and 14 note 2.

3 Demosthenes now gives a historical illustration (παράδειγμα), an example to be followed under present circumstances. What has happened once may happen again.

ἔπειτα after πρῶτον μὲν, as usually, without δέ.

ἐνθυμητέον, echoing the preceding ἀθυμητέον, possibly also a *memoria technica*.

τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς: opp. to ἀκούουσι, “those who witnessed it themselves.” Cf. *c. Lept.* 55, where οἶδα has this force. So often in Isaeus.

ἡλικὴν ποτ'—Λακεδαιμ. Relative with participle subordinate to indirect question. Cf. *de F. L.* 61, ὅν' εἶδητε οἶον ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν οἶον ἔτυχον. Trans. “in spite of the great power which the L. once possessed.” The allusion is to the year 378, when Athens in alliance with Thebes opposed the power of Lacedaemon, then at its height. See Grote, ch. lxxvii.

ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, sc. ἐστὶ. Soph. *Aj.* 600.

ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε, cf. "we conquered at Waterloo."

τῶν δικαίων, "your rights." τ. Ἑλληνικ. δ. would mean the general rights of Hellas as established in treaties, for instance, that of Antalcidas.

εἰδῆτε καὶ θεάσησθε. *Amplificatio.* The expression of an idea by two synonyms is so frequent in Demosthenes, that ancient critics censured it as a fault. But there is always some difference of meaning. εἰδῆτε, by reflection; θεάσησθε, by actual observation (corresponding to παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι), and therefore more distinctly. θεάσασθαι implies, as in Homer, a wondering gaze at something worthy of attention.

οἶον ἂν βούλοισθε. βούλοισθε is Dobree's conjectural emendation for βούλησθε which Prof. Goodwin seems to prefer. *M. T.* §§ 62, 63. 2.

τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ—τὸν νοῦν, } Note the minutely antithetical
τῇ νῦν ὕβρει—ἐχρῆν. }
structure of the two clauses, word nearly corresponding to word. Cf. *infr.* 43 τὴν μὲν—τὴν δέ—. The first clause leads up to and prepares the hearer for the several contrasts in the next.

ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν—φροντίζειν. *G.* 237. 3. c.

τούτου. Philip. οὗτος (often with bitterness or contempt) of a person not named but present in the speaker's mind. *Ol.* iii. 24. Hom. *Il.* ix. 118.

ᾧν. Sc. φροντίζειν.

4 λογισάσθω opposed to οἶεται by μέντοι (stronger than δέ): serious calculation in contrast to mere opinion.

ἡμεῖς, *we*, emphatic. In 364 Timotheus made himself master of Potidaea, Pydna and Methone. Athenian κληροῦχοι were sent to Potidaea. See *Introd.* 4—8, Grote ch. lxxix. Cf. *Olynth.* ch. iii. 16. i. 9, 12.

τοῦτον, "yonder."

οἰκεῖον. Emphatic "as our own" with εἵχομεν. οἰκ. would have been placed last in the clause, but for the hiatus κύκλῳ οἰκεῖον. Isocrates uses the same expression speaking of the same places (*xv.* 107).

ἔθνῳν. The Paconians and Illyrians, *Ol.* i. 23. Grote ch. lxxxvi. p. 18. Take κύκλῳ with πάντα. αὐτονομ. καὶ ἐλεύθ. This combination expresses complete independence, internal and external.

5 εἰ—ἔσχε—ἔπραξεν—ἐκτήσατο. See *M. T.* 95. 96 Remark (b).

ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτ. χ. "Strong places to attack his country from." ἐπί—of hostile movement. χώρας, *G.* 219. 3.

ἔρημον ὄντα σ. "without allies as he is:" the predicative participle naturally in the accusative although χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ is followed by no case.

οὐδὲν ἂν ἔπραξεν—οὐδὲ ἐκτήσατο. *G.* 256. 4.

ἐκείνος. In emphatic position, as ἡμεῖς, § 4. He the barbarian saw what the Athenians had to be taught.

καλῶς, "very well." Cf. *pulchre* in Plautus, e.g. *Mil. Gl.* 404.

ἀθλα. Metaphor from the Palaestra which occupied so prominent a place in Greek life. Cf. Sallust *Cat.* 20, *fortuna omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit*. Demosthenes takes many metaphors from this source. Cf. *infr.* 40, *Olynth.* iii. 27, 28, ii. 21, *de Cor.* 7, 138.

ἐν μέσῳ. Between Philip and the Athenians, of whom the one is always on the spot (*παρουσι*), the others always idling far away (*ἀπόντων*, cf. § 12 *ἀπηρτημένοι*).

6 καὶ γάρ τοι. "And so, assuredly, because he held this opinion"—(*φύσει ὑπάρχει κ.τ.λ.*). γνώμη=sometimes "view," sometimes "feeling," sometimes both, i.e. "spirit."

Before καὶ γάρ τοι (*etenim profecto*) some sentence may be understood, such as "And this we may see in the case of Philip." Schneider, *Isocr.* vii. 30.

ὥς ἂν—ἔχοι. Here the optative is expressed which often has to be supplied in similar phrases. Cf. *Ol.* i. 21, οὕτω εὐτρεπῶς οὐδ' ὥς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχει.

πολέμῳ. Aeschin. *de F. L.* 33 κατὰ πόλεμον λαβὼν—τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ κτησάμενος. Thuc. iii. 52.

συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσ. τ. ν. "to join, heart and hand, with."

καὶ προσέχειν—ἅπαντες, an unintentional hexameter.

οὕς ἂν ὀρώσι. *M. T.* 10, 130.

πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή (*sc. πράττειν*), "willing to do their duty."

7 ἂν ἐελήσῃτε κ.τ.λ. "If then you also make up your minds to adopt such a view now" (*γενέσθαι ἐπὶ τ. τ. γνώμης*). Cf. Dem. *in Mid.* 213 τηρήσατε τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἐφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστέ (which you now hold). νῦν, cf. ἤδη, § 8.

ἐθέλησθε repeating ἐθέλουσιν and ἐθέλοντας in § 6, and with reference to τοῖς ἐθέλουσι in § 5. The Athenians were wanting in determination.

ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον. Implying "as you ought to have done." By expressions of this kind Demosthenes is enabled to introduce many sidethrusts. Cf. inf. 44, *Ol.* iii. 3, *de Cor.* 191.

οὐ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἄν. The former verb in the indicative, duty being independent of circumstances, while possibility is not.

πάσαν ἀ. τ. εἰ. With ἀφίημι the article is more usually omitted after πᾶς. Cf. *Soph. Phil.* 120 πᾶσαν αἰσχύνην ἀφείς. τὴν here may be equivalent to "your native Athenian."

εἰρωνεία, "false modesty," προσποίησις ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλαττον (*Arist. Eth. Nic.* 2. 7. 12) the opposite of ἀλαζονεία, προσποίησις ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον. *Dem. de Pace* 11. The εἰρων (self-depreciator) δοκεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν. *Eth.* 4. 7. 3.

πράττειν, "to act."

συνελόντι. Ellipse of inf. εἰπεῖν. For the dative see *G.* 232. 5.

ὑμῶν αὐτ. γενέσθαι. "Become your own masters," i.e. each act for himself, in a manly way: as the next clause καὶ παύσησθε κ.τ.λ. explains. Cf. *Olynth.* ii. 30 and *infr.* 19 (τῆς πόλεως) and 27. Possessive genitive with εἶναι or γενέσθαι. *G.* 221. § 169. 1.

παύσησθε—ἕκαστος. Partitive apposition, *infr.* 48. *G.* 196, n. 2.

οὐδὲν ποιήσιν ἐλπίζων. οὐδὲν not μηδὲν with inf. after ἐλπίζων, the sense being νομίζων ὅτι αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ποιήσει. See *Paley's Greek Particles* under οὐ.

τὸν πλησίον, "another." Cf. *Thuc.* i. 32. τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ, *aliorum arbitrato*.

The protasis ἂν τοίνυν—πράξιν sets forth the conditions, the triple apodosis καὶ—τιμωρήσεσθε promises ample results. καλ—καλ—καλ, polysyndeton.

τὰ ὑμ. αὐτῶν. Possessions in Lemnos, Potidaea, etc., of which Philip had dispossessed the Athenians.

ἂν θεὸς θέλη. In this singular Frohberger (*Lys.* xiii. 1) finds a trace of monotheism. Rehdantz would rather refer it to some local deities which had become almost *nomina propria* like "Father" in a family, or Βασιλεὺς among the Persians. So Classen, *Thuc. Einleitung* lviii.

κατεροσθημένα, "what you have forfeited by your love of ease," i.e. political standing in relation to Philip and the Greeks. ῥαβδῶς indifference and indifference. κατὰ—down, from top to bottom, so=completely.

πάνιν ἀναλήψ. A common pleonasm.

κάκεινον τιμωρήσεσθε. Last but not least. The Greeks regarded revenge simply as a pleasure. See Apollonius in Non. Hal. iv. 1. 10. ἱερήματα ἱερὰ ἔχουσιν τιμωρίαν, and other passages quoted by Frohberger *Lys.* xiii. 4. Observe the slow spondaic rhythm.

8 Philip is human after all and therefore liable to the vicissitudes of human fortune.

τα παρόντα πῶτε, πράγματ' ἀθάνατα. In solemn and exhortative passages the broad a renews frequently. Cf. inf. 36. Tr. "the present state of things is fixed for ever." ἀθάνατα proleptic = ὥστε ἀθάνατα εἶναι.

ἀλλὰ καὶ μασί τις. "no, there's many a man who hates"—

καὶ ἅπαντ' ὅσασι κ.τ.λ. "and all the passions, without exception (-τερ) which exist in other men"—

κατέπτηχε, "crouch in submission."

ταῦτα. "these peoples." The number is used where a number of persons are spoken of with reference to their own total not to the individuals. Cf. *de Cor.* 318 γὰρ ταῦτα, τοὶ περὶ ταῦτα, τοὺς χρόνους κ.τ.λ.

ἀποστρεφῆ. "resort." Place as turn to / from ἀναγὰς = καταστρεφῆ but with opposite terminus.

ῥαθυμίαν. See § 7 n.

ἣν ἀποθέσθαι. ὅπως δεῖν ἔβη, "which I tell you you must throw off—now." The last word uttered with special energy. Cf. πῶ § 7. ἥδη, *de Cor.* 10.

9 The preceding section is intended to envenomate the Athenians; what follows is to make them angry with Philip and ashamed of themselves.

τὸ πρῶμα. "the master of two," (in opposition to the orator's description in words) explained in the relative clause αἰ—ἀδελφῶτος.

οἱ ἀδελφείας. Partitive genitive. G. 220.

αἱ προεβλήθη ἀδελφείας δε—a loose construction in which a personal relative refers to a noun expressing a quality or to a predicative genitive, and so is synonymous with αἰ τῶν. Cf. *de Cor.* II. 4. σκεδασθε τὰς ἀδελφείας δε ἐν ταῖς ἐ-ὀλιαντοσ εἰς δε. Thuc. iv. 18, Συμφέρον ἀδελφῶν ὅσῳτι, κ.τ.λ.

ἄνθρωπος. This appellation implies bitterness and indignation. Cf. *Phil.* iii. 27, οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τάνθρωπον.

ὥς φασι, as ἤκουόν τινων, *Ol.* i. 22, τινος, ii. 17. The orator had to be very careful how he risked his reputation for credibility, especially in the ἐκκλησία.

οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν, "is not the sort of man to"—οἷος differing little from οἷός τε *infr.* 37. See G. 210 top.

μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, "to stay there," go no further. Cf. *de Cor.* 307.

καθημένους, "as we sit idle." Cf. *infr.* 44, *de fals. leg.* 171 (155) Shilleto n.

περιστοιχίζεται, "is fixing his nets around us." ἐκ μεταφοῦ τῶν κινηγέτων· ματὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν θηρίων ὀρθὰ ξύλα ἰστᾶσιν αἱ, καλοῦσι στοίχους ἢ στόχους καταπετάννυντες αὐτῶν δίκτυα. Harpocration. *Circumretire*, Cicero.

10 πότε—πότε. Epanadiplosis, the second πότε with somewhat stronger accent than the first. This figure is used to express the earnest conviction in the orator's mind, which is not content with a single utterance, but finds a vent in repetition. Cf. *Cic. pro Mil. tuas tuas inquam, de Cor.* 24, 208. The question here is of an essentially different nature to the Rhetorical in § 2. This is asked with a burst of indignation and astonishment, its aim being to cause conviction (ἐλεγχος, πῦσις ἐλεγκτική) and shame, and so lead to decisive action: something like a command, yet fully recognizing the hearer's right of independent judgment. The sudden outbreak, the rapid accumulation of questions in short sharp sentences reflect the vehemence of the orator.

ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται (ἃ χρὴ πράξετε); "what is to happen first?" Lit. "when what shall happen?" In Greek not only independent sentences, but also dependent clauses (final, temporal, conditional, relative) may be expressed interrogatively. Cf. *Plat. Alcib.* i. 8, p. 207, ὅταν οὖν περὶ τίνος βουλευώνται (ἀραστήσει αὐτοῖς συμβουλευσῶν); *Gorg.* 448 c. *Soph. Aj.* 107. This idiom is not Latin, nor English, except perhaps when a word has been imperfectly heard.

ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δί' ἀν. τ. ᾧ. "When—you are obliged, I dare say." Demosthenes uses this popular form of asseveration far more frequently than the other orators, sometimes in earnest, e.g. *Phil.* ii. 23; often in anticipating a possible objection in the very words of the supposed objector, ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία—"but surely—"; often ironically, as here, answering a question he

has himself asked and repeating the emphatic word of the question. Cf. *c. Aristocr.* 124, πότερον ψηφιοῦμεθα ἢ οὐ; ψηφιοῦμεθα νῆ Δία.

νῦν opposed to ἐπειδάν, and so at the beginning of the sentence, but to be taken with γιγνόμενα, "what is one to think of what is going on now? I think that for free men, etc." Τί singular, *non quaerit quatenus eae res sint quae fiant* (τίνα χρὴ τὰ γιγν. ἡγ.) *sed quatenus earum rerum quae fiunt vis atque natura sit.* Franke.

ἐγὼ μὲν, "I for one," modestly, without following δέ. Often with ἐγὼ before οἶδα, ὁρῶ, ἡγοῦμαι, κ.τ.λ.

γάρ often points to a thought in the orator's mind, which in his energetic haste he suppresses, but which may be easily supplied from the context. So here this suppressed thought is an answer to the preceding question τί χρὴ κ.τ.λ.; "Why that present events (τὰ γιγν.) are compulsion enough. For I think, etc."

The rhythm μεγίστην ἀνάγκην—αἰσχύνην εἶναι is slow and grave as befits the dignity of the thought. Cf. *de Chers.* 51, a passage very similar to this §: where however the pertness of the question and answer ἐπειδάν τί—ἀνάγκη τις ἧ is much modified, and the orator speaks more sadly and earnestly.

εἰπέ μοι like φέρε one of the many artifices by which the Greek orator made an impression on his hearers, each of whom would think himself spoken to. It became a formula, and so often occurs among plurals, as here.

αὐτῶν = ἀλλήλων. Cf. *de Cor.* 19 *et al.*

περιόντες πυνθάνεσθαι λέγ. τι κ.; Acc. to *Ar. Rhet.* iii. 7, a part of propriety of style (τὸ πρέπον) is characteristic expression (ἡ ἡθικὴ λέξις) i.e. the proper expression to describe a class of human beings (e.g. old men, women, Spartans, etc.) or a particular frame of mind (ἔξις). So *Olynth.* iii. 22, the stereotyped phrases of the demagogues, here those of the political novelty-monger, as in busy idleness he goes about (περιμέναι) asking for information (πυνθάνεσθαι), and telling wonderful tales (λογοποιεῖν). Theophrastus describes this character, *c. 8 περὶ λογοποιίας*. See also the beginning of Plato's *Euthyphro* and *Acts of the Apostles* xvii. 21, λέγειν τι καὶ ἀκούειν καιρότερον.

περιμέναι. Cf. *inf.* 48, *de Cor.* 158.

πυνθάνεσθαι. *Ol.* ii. 23. The counterpart of λογοποιεῖν, inventions, stories without foundation, σύνθεσις ψευδῶν λόγων καὶ πραξεων, Theophrast. cf. *inf.* 49; *Thuc.* vi. 38. 1; *Plaut. Trin.* 222.

λέγεται, at the beginning of the sentence, in sharp contrast to γένοιτο, “talked of? Why could anything *be*—really occur?”

γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι, the question is shaped in the same form as the expected answer in which the negative οὐδέν would appear. Cf. τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; *Ol.* iii. 29.

γάρ, see note on ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι, *supr.*

καταπολεμῶν. *debellare superbos*, Verg.

διοικῶν, “playing the master of the house.” Isocrates (*Paneg.* 120) uses this expression of the king of Persia. See also διωκεῖτο Dem. *f. l.* 172 (156), Shilleto n. and inf. 12.

11 τέθηκε Φίλιππος; see Introduction 10. A dialogue of three. Athenian A. τέθν. Φιλ.; Athenian B. οὐ μὰ Δι’—Demosthenes, reproaching them both, τί δ’ ὑμῖν διαφέρει;

The author of the treatise *περὶ ὕψους* attributed to Longinus says (c. 18) with reference to this passage ἦν δὲ ἀπλῶς ῥηθὲν τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ παντὶ καταδεέστερον· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἐνθουν καὶ ὀξύρροπον τῆς πείσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀνθυπαντῶν, οὐ μόνον ὑψηλότερον ἐποίησε τῷ σχηματισμῷ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πιστότερον· ἄγει γὰρ τὰ παθητικά τότε μᾶλλον ὅταν αὐτὰ φαίνηται μὴ ἐπιτηδεύειν αὐτὸς ὁ λέγων ἀλλὰ γεννᾶν ὁ καιρός. This dramatic liveliness of question and answer, seems to the modern reader strange, and perhaps scarcely dignified. Cf. inf. 44.

καὶ γάρ—“For, if anything should happen to this one, you would soon provide yourselves with another Philip, if you go on paying (as little) attention to the course of events as you do now (οὕτω).” Cf. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 24, τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους εὐρήσετε. inf. 15 οὕτω μεγάλη.

ἂν οὗτος—ἄνκερ οὕτω—*M. T.* 119. 1.

παρὰ τὴν αὐ. ῥ., “because of, in consequence of.” The transition from the ordinary sense of παρὰ seems to be in this way, near—at the same time as—because of. So here, “while, and so because, he was powerful, we were negligent.” Cf. *de Cor.* 239, εἴπερ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας χρόνους. Lat. *propter*. Eng. provincialism, “along of.”

12 καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. Ellipse of predicate. “And more.”

εἴ τι πάθοι=“if he should die.” Greek euphemism in speaking of events depending on superhuman power. Cf. *filiam neptemque si quid his accidisset*. Suet. *August.* 101.

τὰ τῆς τύχης, "the dispensations of fortune." τύχη is the general expression for the power which controls all events in human life which are beyond the calculation and influence of men. Classen, *Thuc. Einleit.* lix. The Neuter of the article (τὰ τῆς τ.) before a substantive in the genitive expresses ideas for which we use separate substantives. τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, "the conduct of the war," τὰ τῆς πόλεως, "the affairs, circumstances, etc. of the state."

ἥπερ βέλτιον—ἐπιμελούμεθα for ἐπιμελεῖται. Attraction of the predicate to the nearer subject, cf. *Thuc.* i. 82. For the thought cf. *Eupolis fr.* ὦ πόλις πόλις, ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἰ μᾶλλον ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς. *Ar. Nub.* 587, *Aeschin. c. Ctes.* 57, *Dem. F. L.* 256.

ἴσθ' ὅτι—"certainly (adverbial, like δῆλον ὅτι, "evidently") if you were in the neighbourhood, you could step in amidst the general confusion and order matters as you pleased." ἐπι- suddenly, cf. *Phil.* ii. 5. *Isoer.* viii. 41, ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γιγνομένοις. *Supr.* 10 διοικῶν.

διδόντων, "wished to give, offered you," *Thuc.* i. 85. 140.

ἀπηρτημένοι. κεχωρισμένοι *Schol.*, "far from it, as you are with your preparations and even your thoughts." Cf. the opposite, ἐξηρτημέθα τῶν ἐλπίδων, *Isoer.* viii. 7.

13—30 Second Part of the Speech, containing the special proposals of Demosthenes. To this §§ 13—15 serve as Transition, προοίμιον (*exordium*), and πρόθεσις (*propositio*).

13 ὥς μὲν οὖν—ὥς ἐγνωκότων—παύομαι λέγων. Here Demosthenes sums up what he has said in an artistic period, in the form, a, a, A, which is impracticable in English. To keep δεῖ in its emphatic position (which it would lose by the form, possible in English a, a, A) we must make ὥς δεῖ, which depends in the first instance on ὥς ἐγνωκότων, dependent on λέγων only, and so give the sentence the form a, b, A: "Now of the necessity for a firm determination on the part of all of you to do your duty readily, as you realise it, and are convinced of it, I will say no more."

ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν, instead of ἐθέλειν (*supr.* 2 ὑπάρχειν to be there as a foundation, to begin with), to repeat more strongly the idea emphasized at the beginning of § 7. So additional force is given to ποιεῖν by the position of ἐτοίμως at the end of the clause.

τὸν δὲ τρόπον, cf. *Ol.* iii. 10. With the statement (*πρόθεσις*) of the main point (ὁ τρόπος τῆς παρασκευῆς) is combined a kind of *dispositio*, specific arrangement, something more than the τάξις of *Ar. Rhet.* iii. 13. *Quintilian*, iii. 9. 3, gives it the name *partitio* and defines it, *ut orator promittat quid primo quid secundo quid tertio sit loco dicturus*.

πραγμάτων, "trouble," inf. 20, *Ol.* i. 8.

ὅσον—οὔστινας,—understand some such words as ἂν μοι... δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι: "and what number of troops and what pecuniary resources (there should be, as it seems to me), and how, in my judgment, the other requirements may best be provided." Take ἄν with παρασκευασθῆναι.

καὶ δῆ, "immediately," cf. ταῦτα δὴ λέξω, inf. 29 τοῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

τοσοῦτον, "only so much," inf. 23, *de Cor.* 124.

14 ἐπειδάν. Asyndeton *explicativum* (in giving details), inf. 20, *Isocr.* v. 123.

κρίνατε, μὴ πρ. προλαμβάνετε, "decide when you have heard all (not before): and (Asynd.) in deciding don't anticipate (while I am speaking)."

πρότερον, pleonasm.

καινήν, *novam*, such as had never been got ready before.

λέγειν, "propose."

εἰς δέον, "suitable for us." Acc. after εἰς of the goal, purpose. inf. 26, 28, 35, 40.

βοηθεία, "auxiliary expedition," inf. 32. Note the rhythmical correspondence in sound between τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ and κωλύσαι δυνηθεῖμεν.

15 τίς π. π. κ. πόση κ. πόθεν have as common predicate διαμείναι δυνήσεται, before which there would be a pause: "Of what kind and magnitude and from what resources an armament must be equipped which shall be capable of enduring—." Cf. *de Symmoriis* 2, where the same triple division and common predicate occurs. The object of Demosthenes in this triple division (inf. 20, *F. L.* 4—8) is to make his unusual proposal as intelligible as possible, and to place difficulties in the way of possible objectors who had considered the subject less carefully than himself.

ἕως ἄν, *M.T.* 143.

οὕτω γάρ=εἰ τοιαύτην δύναμιν πορισάμεθα. Protasis expressed in οὕτω *M.T.* 110, 111.

τοῦ λοιποῦ, "in (within) the future," *G.* 227.

μὴ κωλύων dependent on ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, *ita me dicere posse ut non impediam*. μὴ with the participle instead of the regular negation οὐ (inf. 29) on account of the prohibitive or declining nature of the sentence, see Curtius, *Gr. Gr.* § 618. 2. Cf. *Isocr. de Pace* 12.

οὕτω μεγάλη, as great (as you have heard : *i.e.* I had a proposal to make which would protect you from further suffering). Cf. οὕτω *supr.* 11.

τὸ πρᾶγμα, "the statement of my case," *i.e.* the particulars of my undertaking. *causa* in a legal sense : so ἐλεγχον ("whether I have a right to promise such results from my proposal"), Demosthenes defines ἐλεγχος in opposition to αἰτία. *c. Androt.* 22, ἐλεγχός ἐστιν ὅταν ὦν ἂν εἴπῃ τις καὶ τὰληθὲς ὁμοῦ δείξῃ. So also κριταί. Cf. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 50. The three short sentences express the confidence of the speaker.

ἤδη, "forthwith."

16 τοίνυν, here not inferential, "therefore," but transitional "now"; so used especially in passing from the general to the particular, "inf. 29.

τριήρεις with emphasis and so in the next clauses αὐτοὺς and αὐτοῖς.

παρασκευάσασθαι, "to get in readiness:" by choosing the ships, ordering the requisite tackle, appointing the trierarchs, so that they may be able to start at once.

ὥς πλευστέον, *sc.* ὑμῖν ὄν, dependent on οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν. *M. T.* 231, note 10 (b).

εἰάν τι δέη, "if there be need."

τοῖς ἡμίσεσι, "for half." τῶν ἱππ. Partitive genitive after the adjective, *G.* 220, note 1. *Thuc.* i. 22. *Acc.* to *de Symmor.* 13, the Athenian forces at the time amounted to χιλίους ἱππέας, ὁπλίτας δ' ὅσους ἂν θέλῃ τις, ναὺς δὲ τριακοσίας.

ἱππαγ. τριήρ. "Cavalry-transports." *Introd.* 17. note 48.

πλοῖα. τὰ φέροντα τὰ ἐπιτηδεῖα καὶ ὑπηρετικά. *Schol.*

ἱκανά. In number.

17 ταῦτα, "this armament (and these sentiments) must be ready to hand"—

ταύτας. "These well-known expeditions of his." Cf. § 19. *Ol.* ii. 16. In this sense οὗτος may come between article and substantive, if the latter has an attribute (ἐξαίφνης κ.τ.λ.).

Πύλας κ.τ.λ. Philip's attempt in autumn 352 to force a passage through Thermopylae into Phocis, frustrated by the activity of the Athenians. *Grote* xi. 100. (ch. lxxxvii.) See *Introduction* 9.

τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ γν. παραστήσαι, "to create the impression in his mind that—." Aeschin. *Ctes.* 229. Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 3. 51.

ὥς... ὥς ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε *M. T.* 49.

ταύτης parallel to the preceding ταύτας, sarcastically.

τῆς ἄγαν ἀμελ. *F. L.* 272 τὴν ἄγαν ταύτην ἐξουσίαν. *G.* 200—1.

Εἰβοίαν. In 357 (358 acc. to Grote xi. 20, ch. lxxxvi.) when the Thebans crossed over into the island and met with energetic and successful opposition from Athens following the counsel of Timotheus.

Ἀλάρτος, against the Spartans under Lysander in 395. Grote ix. 118, ch. lxxiv.

The rapid change of tone, which often occurs in Demosthenes, exciting a succession of different emotions, must have had great effect. So here ταύτης τῆς ἀμελείας bitterly, then Euboea, Haliartus, Pylae, names which would make the listener's heart swell, then bitterly again ὥς ἂν ὀρμήσαιτε, "perhaps you may recover."

τὰ τελευταῖα, "lastly." Article with adjective forming an adverb. *de Cor.* 244.

18 οὗτοι κ.τ.λ. "Yet surely, even if you should not eventually do this in the way I think you ought (embarking yourselves), my proposal is not utterly contemptible." οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιτε is in the speaker's thought before he begins the sentence with εἰ. For ἂν with the optative in protasis see *M. T.* 107, note 2 (a).

ἵνα depends logically on ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπ. § 17, but, as this clause contains the important point, Demosthenes places it in the emphatic position, the end, without strict regard to grammatical coherence. [Weil places οὗτοι—ἐστίν in a parenthesis and refers it to the first part only of the following alternative ἢ—ῆ.]

εἰδώς, copula (participle) ὄντας omitted. So after ἐδείξατε *de Cor.* 216, the infinitive after ἡγείσθαι *supr.* 10, etc. Also cf. *infr.* 41.

εἰσίν—εἰσίν. *supr.* 10 πότε.

ἐξαγγέλλοντες. In Tragedy ὁ ἐξάγγελος is ἄγγελος ὁ τὰ ἔσω γεγονότα τοῖς ἔξω ἀγγέλλων. One of these agents of Philip was Neoptolemus, a tragic actor. *de Pace* 6.

ἀφύλακτος, "off his guard." Adj. fr. φυλάττεσθαι, to defend oneself. Metaphor from wrestling, so also ἂν ἐνδῶ καιρόν. *supr.* 5 note. Cf. *Ar. Eq.* 854. Demosthenes means that advan-

tage is to be taken of Philip's absence to invade Macedonia: not that Philip himself is to be attacked unawares in the place where he is.

ἐνδιδόναι. *de Cor.* 158, *Thuc.* ii. 87. *s.f.*

μηδενός. Neuter, "should there be nothing."

μή, Philip's being surprised depending on possible conceivable events, not on actual facts (οὐδενός, "there being nothing").

μέν, in conclusion.

δεδοχθαι φημι δέιν. Perf. inf. of that which one sees or would be glad to see completed. Parallel to this is *παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἶμαι*, but with stronger words as conveying a more important thought.

19 πρὸ δὲ τούτων. Demosthenes says no more about the first-mentioned (§ 16—18) preparation. No opposition to it was to be expected: the demand for it was usual, but had to be made from time to time as occasion called for its active employment. But the orator thus gains space for his second demand, one quite unusual, far more difficult to obtain, yet taking precedence in urgency (πρὸ δὲ τούτων)—that for a *standing* army to oppose Philip's. *Introd.* 20.

ἥ—πολεμήσει, "intended specially to carry on war—."

μή μοι, "only don't offer me" (λέξῃτε). Ellipse of Imperative. Cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 1179, *Nub.* 84.

τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους τ., "those soldiers on paper," which were readily decreed by the people, who neglected however to send the generals the money to levy and keep them together: which therefore often existed only ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς (§ 30) in the despatches of the people to the generals.

τῆς πόλεως, "the state's own." Possessive Gen. Cf. ἦσαν Φιλίππου, *Phil.* iii. 56. *supr.* 7.

κἂν ὑμεῖς—. The καὶ contained in the first κἂν does double duty, connecting πείσεται with ἔσται and corresponding to the καί in the following κἂν (κἂν—κάν, *sive*—*sive*). The reading καὶ κἂν is logically correct, but against the instinct of the language.

τὸν δεῖνα, "this or that (definite) person." ὅτινοῦν, "any other whatever." (In Demosthenes occur also ὁ δεῖνα, τοῦ δεινός, τῷ δεῖνι, τὸ δεῖνα, ὁ δεῖνα (Voc.), οἱ δεῖνες, τῶν δεινῶν.)

πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει, *Xen. An.* i. 3, 6. Clearchus says ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπεισθαι. The words point to a recent instance of insubordination (§ 21).

τροφήν, i.e. *σιτηρέσιον*. § 29.

20 τίς, πόση, πόθεν, for the third time (§§ 13, 15). This continued distinction between τίς and πόση suggests an unusual composition of the armament, given in full after Demosthenes has recommended that the bulk consist of ξένοι.

ταῦτα. πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν.

καθ' ἕκαστον τ., "each of these points separately." The preposition and its case are used as one word forming a substantive. Cf. Thuc. vii. 8, ἀγγέλλων καθ' ἕκαστα τῶν γιγνομένων, viii. 28 et saep.

ξένους μὲν λέγω—. Demosthenes does not yet venture to speak out the demand, unwelcome if anticipated, for citizen-soldiers, but begins with the soothing ξένους: by μὲν, however, he already hints something more. The hearers now expect the number: but, foreseeing the laughter with which an Athenian audience would receive a request sounding so modest yet announced so solemnly, he first interposes a bitter parenthesis, which would make jest impossible. "And see you do not that which has oftentimes done you harm." G. 262, note 4. M.T. 82. Cf. Isocr. viii. 25.

—ἔβλαψεν· πάντ' ἐλάττω, κ.τ.λ. *Asyndeton explicativum*, where a word like ὁ here or τοσοῦτον (§§ 13, 14) points to something which is to follow. "I mean, while every measure that is proposed seems to you too small for the emergency—when it comes to action, you," etc.

ἐπὶ τῷ πρ., "When the question is about." Cf. *de Cor.* 13, 19, 257.

ἀλλά, "no, after you have prepared and provided for the small—."

ποιήσαντ., the required expedition—πορίσαντ., the money for its maintenance. Note the intentional consonance.

21 λέγω δὴ, "I propose then (δὴ after parenthesis) the sum total of—." When the article stands immediately before πᾶς, the sum total is opposed to the separate parts. G. 204, note 5. But, as Demosthenes takes up again the above-mentioned ξένους after the parenthesis, he suddenly changes the phrase and asks for στρατιώτας "(only) 2000 foot-soldiers" (so § 28. *Xen. Hell.* i. 3. 10, Lat. *milites* for *pedites*) and of these—here Demosthenes utters the unwelcome word—"Athenians (as many as) 500." The positions of Ἀθηναίους, at the beginning, and πεντακοσίων, at the end of the clause, are very emphatic and effective but can hardly be retained in translation. He then modifies the effect of this modest but unusual demand, by leaving to them to settle the choice of age, and the time of service, not a long one, and allowing the citizen-soldiers to relieve one another in turn.

ἐξ ἧς ἄν—δοκῇ. *M.T.* 128.

ἐκ διαδ. (ἐκ of way, manner. Cf. ἐξ ἰσου, κ.τ.λ.) “in succession.” Cf. ἐκ, §§ 1, 2.

ἀλλήλοις. Dative with Verbal-substantives. *inf.* 28. *G.* § 185.

ὥσπερ, join with τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

τοὺς πείρους. Attraction, as usual after ὥσπερ to the preceding case *ἰππέας*. *Thuc.* i. 69. 5 et al.

22 εἶεν, “very well.” Transitional.

καὶ ταχειῶν, besides the transport-ships (*τριήρεις στρατιώτιδες* or *ὀπλιταγωγοί* and *ἰππαγωγοί*).

φράσω καὶ δείξω, “I will show you clearly.”

τηλικάυτην, “so small.” So *τοσαύτην* § 23.

ἀποχρῆν in *Infin.* v. *Veitch, Irreg. Verbs*, s. v. ἀποχράω.

πολίτας, as emphasized predicate precedes its subject τοὺς στρατευομένους. Of course by τοὺς στρατ. only the required fourth part (§ 21 init.) is understood by speaker and hearers.

23 τοσαύτην, sc. ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι.

παραταξομένην,—“can meet him in the field.”

ληστεύειν, “carry on guerilla warfare.” *populabundi magis quam iusti more belli.* *Liv.* i. 15.

τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. A kind of *amplificatio*, the thought contained in the preceding *ληστεύειν* being resumed by τούτῳ and expanded into a separate sentence. Cf. *Ol.* ii. 15.

τὴν πρώτην. Ellipse. Cf. τὴν ταχίστην, ἐξ ἑσῆς, and similar adverbial expressions. No particular feminine substantive need be supplied. *sic potius existimandum videtur Graecos a notionibus simplicibus progressos maximeque obviis, quae sunt situs viae et directionis, hinc similitudinem traxisse ad actionum humanarum directiones et modos.* *Lobeck, Paralip.* 363. Here the expression suggests a more hopeful future and more extensive plans.

ὅτι ἀκούω, the argument is: citizens and mercenaries together do good service, as at Corinth (when Iphicrates destroyed the Spartan mora at Lechaeum in 390). Demosthenes says ἀκούω because Greek and Roman orators, for fear of losing popularity, never publicly derived their knowledge of facts from books. ἀκούω pres. tense rather than perf. ἀκήκοα of matters of common report, cf. *supr.* 3.

τρέφειν and συστρατεύεσθαι. Imperfect Infinitives. *M. T. 15.*

αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς. This order gives more prominence to αὐτοὺς than the arrangement usual with reflexives ὑμ. αὐτ.

καὶ οἶδα κ.τ.λ. Each thought, as in a more marked degree in *Ol. iii. 5*, is brought to bear on the hearer separately, καὶ οἶδ' ἀκούων ὅτι | Λακεδαιμονίους (the invincible, in the "pathetic" position, as Ἀθηναίους in § 21) | παραταπτόμενοι, "in open field."

μεθ' ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. Chiasmus. οὔτοι probably to be struck out, on account of the hiatus.

ἐνίκων. Imperf. "again and again."

24 In sharp contrast to the accented thought in the chiasmus, μετά, "in concert with," stands the parallel of the present time; αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ ("independent and alone") τὰ ξενικά (§ 23 only ξενικόν, "a mercenary force") στρατ. "go to war for you," τοὺς φίλους (without μέν to bring into prominence the clause with δέ) νικᾷ, § 45, *de Chers. 24*. The power of the indispensable ξενοὶ was becoming a grievous burden, but supplied plentiful material for jest, which appears in παρακύψαντα, "after a side-glance at," and in οἷχεται πλ. "are off on a voyage to Artabazus and anywhere rather," and in the Oxy-moron στρατ | ἡγὸς δ' ἀκολουθεῖ (a copulativum and κελευθός) "and their leader after them:" in the sneering εἰκότως (cf. ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δία, § 10), and the incontestable position οὐ γὰρ μισθόν. See *Introd. 19* and *Grote, xi. pp. 24, 25, 34*.

ὁ στρατ—ἡγὸς δέ. Cf. inf. 41 στρατηγεῖσθε. After emphasized words which belong to one another, δέ stands in the third or fourth place. Cf. *Phil. ii. 3*, οἷα ποιεῖ δέ et al.

25 ἀφελεῖν, "to cut off, preclude." *Ol. ii. 27*.

ἐπόπτας. § 47 μάρτυρας. The citizen-soldiers are to be initiated, "contemplators of the mysteries (i.e. watchful inspectors) of the general's conduct."

τῶν στρατηγῶν. Attributive Particip. Passive neut. pl., as a substantive. Present here and § 47. Often in the Perfect. τὰ πεπολιτευμένα αὐτοῖς, τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπρεσβευμένα.

γέλως=γελοῖον. Cf. ἀνάγκη 10.

πράγμασιν, "opportunities for action."

μὰ Δι', "God forbid," with indignation, πολεμοῦμεν with emphasis.

26 The pretended conversation merely suggests the thought: But where are your numerous officers? I see only one in the field. But Demosthenes expands the idea "your numerous officers" into a complete (good-humoured) ironical sentence. "But (how is it?) did you not elect (in this war as in others) out of your midst ten taxiarchs generals and phylarchs, and hipparchs two in number?" The effect of sound and sense is heightened by the recurrence of *αρχους*. "What are these (two and thirty *ἀρχοι*) doing now? With the exception of one man (the jest becomes more and more severe) whom you may happen (*M. T.* 28, n. 2) to send out, the rest are attending to the festal processions (parading) by the side of the sacrifice-officials." These processions (Weil refers to the representation of the procession of the knights on the Frieze of the Parthenon) passed through the *ἀγορά* *Mid.* 171: hence the sarcastic comparison with clay (we should say tin) painted toy-soldiers, which the *πηλοπλάθου* or *κοροπλάσται* prepared for sale in the *ἀγορά* (*Lucian, Lexiph.* 22, *εἰς ἀγορὰν ὑφαίνειν* Menander), is the more pointed. *Introd.* 18, note 50.

27 *ἐχρῆν*, "ought there not then to be taxiarchs on your part, a hipparch on your part, (generally) officers from home, in order that the army might really be the State's own?" Franke distinguishes *ἐχρῆν εἶναι, oportebat esse, at non sunt, ἐχρῆν ἂν εἶναι, oporteret esse, at non oportet*, *G.* 268, n. 2. *παρ' ὑμῶν*, "on your side, to represent you," with *ὑπάρχειν* § 33. The explanation of the construction *ὥς ἀληθῶς* is uncertain.

ἦν. Indic. of that which is not the case. *G.* 261. 3. *M.* *T.* 72, 73.

ἀλλά, properly "but," corresponding to *οὐ* in the preceding question: we must say "or:" "or must the Athenian hipparch sail to Lemnos (as military authority and to conduct the festal procession there), while on the other hand the men who are fighting for our own possessions are to be commanded by a foreigner as hipparch?" Demosthenes speaks of only one hipparch because the other was apparently under legal obligation to remain at Athens and attend to the festal parades. Menelaus *ὁ Πελαγών* (chieftain of Pelagonia, a district of Upper Macedonia) apparently appointed hipparch by Charidemus. *Ol.* ii. 14.

μεμφόμενος, "because I have any fault to find with M."

ὅστις ἂν ᾖ, M. T. 135, 5.

28 *τὸ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων*, "as to the matter of money." *Article. supr. τὸ τῆς τύχης* 12 n.

τοῦτο δὴ καὶ περ. "I am going through that immediately." καὶ = "as you wish to bear it." δὴ, cf. ἤδη, § 29.

χρήματα. "Money then:" Nominative, Absolute, as it were the heading of the following estimate of expenses. Cf. Plat. *Crat.* 403 A, ὁ δὲ Ἀιδης.

ἔστι μὲν. The first point, πόσα, in opposition to the second, πόθεν, at the end of the next §.

τροφή may include μισθός as well as σιτηρέσιον, maintenance-money: so the latter word is added for the sake of precision. Cf. 22, 23 τρέφειν. *Introd.* 17.

πρός, adverbial, "besides."

τάλαντα—μναί—δραχμαί. *Dict. Antiq.* Table XII. p. 1237.

τοῦ μηνός. *G.* § 179. 1.

στρατιώταις. § 21.

τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα, here = *tantundem*, "the same amount." This phrase, like the Lat. *alterum tantum*, has sometimes another meaning, "as much again," i.e. "twice as much."

29 εἰ δέ τις. "But if any one (τις implies many) thinks that the presence (ὑπάρχειν having in hand) of maintenance-money...is an insufficient basis of operations, he is mistaken."

ὑπάρχειν. *Xen. Mem.* iv. 5. 1, νομίζων ἐγκράτειαν ὑπάρχειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι.

ἀφορμή, lit. place to start from: then support, capital. See Wilkins' note to *Ol.* i. 23 (Reiske, p. 16. 2).

τοῦτο emphatic, and therefore placed before ἄν, so several words preceding ἄν inf. 43, and often before εἰ, also ὁ στρατηγός before δέ supr. 24. "If only this is provided," strictly "comes in:" γίγνεσθαι of revenue, like ἐλθεῖν, λέναι, φοιτᾶν, cf. *de Cor.* 104. *Xen. An.* v. 3. 4.

προσποριεῖ. Active not Middle, the point being "the army will do that which it is the state's duty to do." Cf. inf. 33; *de Chers.* 21; *Thuc.* viii. 48. 6. *Introd.* 17.

ἐγὼ συμπλέων. Cf. *de Chers.* 24. ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶ δεῖν τὸν σύμβουλον οὕτω συμβουλεύειν ὥς αὐτὸν μέλλοντα κοινωνεῖν τούτοις ἐφ' οἷς ποιεῖται τὴν συμβουλὴν κ.τ.λ. *Schol. Dem.* p. 11, l. 10. The offer is a proof of Demosthenes's confidence (notice asyndeton) and patriotism.

ἔτοιμος, sc. εἰμι. Cf. *Phil.* iii. 4.

πόθεν, sc. γενήσεται, *de Chers.* 22.

30 Πόρου ἀπόδειξις. One of the titles (λήμματα) of Documents which in political speeches the orator probably read himself.

ἡμεῖς. "I and my friends," perhaps Lycurgus. Demosthenes never speaks of himself alone in the plural.

ἐπιχειροτονήτε. Appendix.

ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκη. Sauppe, whom Blass follows, changes the reading \tilde{a} $\tilde{a}\nu$ to $\tilde{a}\nu$, as the former does not harmonize with the final sentence *ἵνα μή κ.τ.λ.* "When it comes to the vote, you will vote for it ('my proposal,' *ταῦτα* of preceding sentence) if it has your approval." Sauppe compares *Phil.* iii. 70, *de Symmor.* 14. *χειροτονήσετε.* The Future, expressing confidence, cf. *Phil.* ii. 6, iii. 70.

ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, "in the despatches," on paper, § 19.

31—50 Third Part. Supplementary general reasons in support of the advice offered. First some loosely inserted detail about the nature of the seat of war which calls for a standing army. §§ 31, 32:

τόπον. "Geographical position."

τοῖς πνεύμασι—Φίλιππος, καὶ κ.τ.λ. "With the help of the winds—he anticipates you and carries out most of his projects, and indeed, etc." Cf. *de Chers.* 11, *τῷ πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίγνεσθαι.*

φυλάξας τ. ἐτησίας. The N.W. winds which blow regularly across the Aegæan in the Dog-days. *de Chers.* 14, 17.

τὸν χειμῶνα. When the ancients generally did not venture out at sea: not so Philip. *Ol.* ii. 23; *Phil.* iii. 50.

ἐπιχειρεῖ, "lays hand to, engages in his work," i.e. makes his attacks. *inf.* 44.

ἂν μὴ δυναίμεθα, "shall not be able," i.e. according to Philip's opinion and wish, in *orat. rect.* οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο. Cf. *Ol.* ii. 15.

32 βοηθείαις. "Auxiliary expeditions." § 14.

ἀπάντων. *G.* § 175. 2, cf. *inf.* 35.

χειμαδίῳ τῇ δυνάμει, "winter-harbour for the forces."

Δήμνῳ, Athenian property, as were Imbros and Scyros.

Θάσῳ κ. Σκιάθῳ, belonging to the Athenian alliance, as also the neighbouring islands Peparethos and Tenedos, *de Cor.* 70, 302.

ἀ χρή, sc. ὑπάρχειν. Demosthenes endeavours to make his proposal acceptable by the polysyndeton here, καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ κ.τ.λ., by ὑπάρχει, "it is ready to hand," at the beginning and end of the period, and by the emphasized ῥάδιον and ῥαδίως.

τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, "throughout the (proper) season of the year," τὴν ὥραιαν *Phil.* iii. 48; *Herod.* vii. 50. *Homer* πλέομεν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ. *G.* 216.

πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι, "to come to the land." γίγνεσθαι = to come, often in *Homer* with ἐν and ἐπὶ and the dative of the place reached. *Thuc.* i. 62.

τὸ τῶν πνευμ. *Supr.* § 12 n.

ῥαδίως ἔσται, sc. ἡ δύναμις.

33 ἄ, "For what purpose." *G.* 214, note 2.

χρήσεται. The subject is in the principal sentence. *Cf.* *Ol.* iii. 19, s.f.

παρὰ τὸν κ. "At the right opportunity." παρὰ with acc. of time. *Cf. de Cor.* 13. These particulars Demosthenes leaves to the στρατηγός as his proper business and returns to the general advantages of his proposal.

γέγραφα. "I have moved for in a written document." *Ol.* i. 19, iii. 11. See Appendix.

ἀν ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. The advantageous results, which Demosthenes has to point to, will certainly ensue if his proposal is completely carried out. Accordingly he sums up all his demands together with their principal result in one powerful period. At the beginning he places the collection of money, without which nothing can be done, τὰ χρ. πρῶτον λέγω, "I mean, in the first instance, the money:" then another indispensable and characteristic condition, that the force be kept together for some time, νόμῳ κατακλ. μένειν: subordinate to this main clause come (1) (preceding) the necessary preparations, τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, (2) (accompanying the whole course of the war), the active participation of the citizens, αὐτοὶ—γιγνόμενοι—ζητοῦντες.

ἐντελῇ. *Cf. Ar. Eq.* 1367, τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδώσω ἔντελῇ. Soldiers and sailors did not always receive their pay regularly. See *Thuc.* viii. 45.

κατακλείσητε, "oblige it to," κατὰ implying completely, as ἰν κατιδεῖν, κατασκευάζειν.

ταμίαι κ. πορισταί, "paymasters," *cf. de Chers.* 47, *Thuc.* viii. 48. There is no reason to believe that ποριστής is as yet a special official name. *Introd.* 17.

τῶν δὲ πράξεων—ζητοῦντες, “demanding the (legal) account of his actions (not of the money):” *quaerentes* not *petentes*.

παύσεσθ’ with much emphasis, and so generally this short apodosis to the weighty protasis.

πλέον οὐδὲν π., “effecting nothing.”

34 Though this (παύσεσθε, κ.τ.λ.) would be sufficient, Demosthenes adduces a series (πρῶτον μὲν, ἔπειτα) of positive advantages besides (πρὸς τοῦτω).

ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμῇ συμμαχῶν, “he makes war upon you with the property of your own allies,” lit. from that resource: a bitter Oxymoron. ἀπὸ, cf. *Ol.* i. 22, iii. 34. ὑμῖν, *infr.* 47.

ἄγων καὶ φέρων, with personal object. Cf. *de Cor.* 230.

πλέοντας τὴν θάλατταν. *G.* 215 top.

τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοί—“yourselves (in opp. to the allies) will be out of the way of ill-treatment.” If the order had been αὐτοί ἔξω, to say nothing of the hiatus, there would have been less emphasis on πάσχειν and κακῶς, still less if it had been ἔξω τοῦ π. κ.

οὐχ. Ellipse, sc. οἰχίσεται, ἐκλέξει, to be supplied as usual from the clauses with ὥσπερ, though perhaps not definitely and distinctly in the mind of the speaker.

Λῆμνον, κ.τ.λ. For these recent (353) exploits of the Macedonian navy see Grote xi. 109. The instances are remarkable for (1) the admirable selection: Philip, unpunished, robs the Athenians of freedom (Lemnians and Imbrians are Athenian citizens), of property (the corn-ships), of honour (the sacred state-vessel): (2) the order: robs them at Lemnos, at Geræstus, a promontory and town S. of Euboea and so much nearer to Attica, at Marathon in Attica itself; the next step, as the listener feels with increasing anxiety and excitement to which the asyndeton contributes, must be to Athens itself: (3) the expression; ἐξέλεξεν, parody, “collection as if due from tributaries,” cf. *Thuc.* viii. 44; ἀμύθητα, a new word; and the indignant ὥχεται ἔχων in the first and third instances, “was off (unpunished) with his booty.” Demosthenes says ἀπέβη καὶ, not ἀποβάς parallel to ἐμβαλὼν and συλλαβὼν, because this fact also is startling enough to deserve an independent clause: “he landed at Marathon.” The mere mention of Marathon would recall a similar landing and a very different fate for the invader. Like a flash of lightning these instances might shew the Athenian the precipice on whose brink he stood, create a lively dissatisfaction with the present dangerous disorder, and so ensure obedience to the orator’s demand, νόμῳ κατακλείσαι τὴν δύναμιν. See *Introd.* 9.

ἱερὰν τριήρη, a swift sailer which the state kept for rapid messages, transport of public money, conveyance of *θεωραὶ* (festal embassies), etc., like the *Σαλαμυνία* and *Πάραλος*; according to authorities in Harpocration it was the *Πάραλος* which is alluded to here. The Delian *θεωρία* touched at Marathon to sacrifice and was there blessed by the priest of Apollo. Plato *Phaedo* 58. Philochorus ap. Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 1047. *Dict. Antiq.* p. 389.

ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε—, without your—.

εἰς of the date when an action is conceived of as completed. Cf. εἰς Παναθηναῖα, εἰς ἅπαξ. Eng. “by.”

35 Παναθ. Διονυσ. Costly festivals, in August and March, with musical and dramatic exhibitions, gymnastics, processions, etc. Introd. note 50. See the words in *Dict. Antiq.*

τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου. Cf. τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους, principles defining the time attached to the temporal genitive.

δεινοί—ιδιώται, “whether the lot falls on professionals or on laymen to attend to these festivals.” οἱ ἐπιμελ. subject, δεινοί predicate. δεινότης, Ar. *Eth.* v. 12. ιδιώτης, a private person, in opposition to experienced officials. The hiatus ιδιώται οἱ might be avoided by the transposition τ. ἐκ. οἱ ἐπιμ. (οὐπιμ.).

εἰς ἃ, “festivals on which.”

οὐδ' εἰς ἕνα. One of the *καινοπρεπῇ* (novelties in expression) noted by Hermogenes, οἷον καὶ εἰ μὴδὲ δι' ἐν ἄλλο, ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰ καὶ διὰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο. So “none” is weaker than “not one.”

ἀποστόλων, “naval expeditions.” Cf. *Ol.* iii. 5. Kennedy's *Demosth.* Vol. i. Appendix v. pp. 306—7.

καί, “and which.” Greek avoids the relative construction in several consecutive clauses, and passes readily from the subordinate to the coordinate. Cf. *Ol.* iii. 24.

ὄχλον. Thuc. vi. 24, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλώδους τῆς παρασκευῆς.

ἔχει, “involve.” Cf. ὦν χωρὶς καὶ ζῆν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν ἐστί, πραγματείαν δ' ἔχει πλείστην. Musonius ap. Stob. i. 64.

παρασκευὴν without *τοσαύτην* which is implied in the following ὅσῃν. Cf. *de Pace* 10.

καιρῶν. Cf. sup. 32. inf. 38.

Μεθώνην, κ.τ.λ. Methone, on the Macedonian coast, an ally of Athens, was besieged in 353 and taken by Philip before the auxiliary expedition from Athens reached it. So in 352 an Athenian force arrived too late to prevent Philip from garrisoning Pagasae, the harbour of Pherae in Thessaly. Potidaea, the key of the peninsula Pallene, had been taken in 356. Introd. 7. 8. 5.

36 In everything concerning festivals law and order prevail (*νόμῳ τέτακται*).

τίς, ellipse of Copula; *supr.* 2, 3, 29.

χορηγός, the citizen whose turn it was (as *λειτουργία*) to provide a contending chorus on behalf of his tribe. See *Dict. Antiq.* 579 b, also *s.vv.* Choregus, Gymnasium.

πότε—τί—τί, see § 3 n.

λαβόντα τί—, “what he is to receive and what he has to do for it, in short nothing.” Understand *ἕκαστον ἑμῶν*, so far as he is called upon to cooperate in the festival concerned.

ἀνεξέταστον, predicative, effect of *ἡμέληται*.

ἐν δέ—. Demosthenes has distributed the general abstract thought *ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται* in effective details *καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος*—and then sums up all these details in *οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον—ἡμέληται*, in order to let the whole weight of the thought, which is now vividly felt, fall on the contrast; “but in the concerns of war and in preparation for war there is complete lack of order.” *πολέμου—τούτου*, cf. *ἡμᾶς—ἡμετέραν*, *Ol.* i. 3, *amplificatio*, a common *σχῆμα*, so *F. L.* 335 *διὰ τούτους καὶ τὴν τούτων ὁωροδοκίαν*.

ἄτακτ' ἀδιόρθωτ' ἀόρισθ' ἅπαντα. The weight of the argument falling on this short clause contrasted with the long one which precedes it (cf. *supr.* 33, *Phil.* iii. 3), the distribution of the idea itself into all its various shades (“un-ordered, un-regulated, un-defined,” compare “unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd”), the graphic recurrence of the *a privativum* together with the *homoeoteleuton*, all combine to emphasize in the highest degree, by sound and sense, the fundamental idea “complete want of order.” Compare the idea of complete uselessness in the three synonyms *ἄχρηστ' ἄπρακτ' ἀνόνητα*, *Phil.* iii. 40, *Hom. Il.* ix. 63, *Eur. I. T.* 212, *Plat. Phaedr.* 240 A, *Ar. Ran.* 204.

τοιγαροῦν. The consequence is, as soon as we hear some news, we set about taking measures which should have been hit upon long before (this is described by the paratactic *ἄμα* and the triple polysyndeton *καὶ—καὶ—καὶ*), and after that (instead of a resolute decree at once on receipt of the news) the confused contradictory decrees *καὶ—εἶτα—εἶτα—εἶτα*; the last *εἶτα* placing the mournful final result (*προσπόλωλε*) on a level with the decrees, cf. *Ol.* iii. 29, *καὶ λήρους*, *de Cor.* 75.

“And so with us all goes on at once; we hear some news and we appoint trierarchs, and allow exchanges of property to be made for them, and look about us to provide the money, and after that we decree (the sarcasm is equally severe whether this

aorist is gnomic or refers to a particular case) that the metoeci and those who live apart (freedmen) form the crews, and then again that we citizens do so ourselves, and then that we change the crews, and then, while all this delay is going on, the goal and object of our expedition on each occasion is lost beforehand."

τριηράρχους and ἀντιδόσεις. Introd. 16.

ἐμβαίνειν, "go on board," absolute, as inf. 44. Cf. *conscendere*.

χωρίς, οἱ ἀπελευθέροι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ᾤκουν χωρίς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων, Harpocrat. Dem. c. *Leoch.* 10.

ἀντεμβιβάζειν, absolute, as ἐμβιβάζειν, Thuc. ii. 90. Cf. ἀντεμβιβάσαι, Thuc. vii. 13.

ταῦτα μέλλεται. Cf. Thuc. v. 111, ὅμων τὰ μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπιζόμενα μέλλεται.

τό makes a substantive of the following relative-clause: to be pronounced τοῦφ' ἂν. Cf. c. *Androt.* 64, et al.

ἐφ' ὅ. ἐπὶ c. acc. of the goal attained. Cf. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν βαδίζῃ, de *Chers.* 10, et al.

37 παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλ. The αἱ here might be elided so that the hiatus is not serious.

οἱ δὲ τ. πραγμάτων καιροί, "the opportunities (for action) offered by circumstances." Ol. iii. 7, F. L. 6, Thuc. i. 142, τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μινετοί. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 163 n.

βραδυτήτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν. Supr. 7 and 8. The rhythm also is imitated by Livy, xxxi. 28, *non expectare belli tempora moras ac dilātīōnēs imperatorum*.

ἀς δέ—, the relative-clause is the subject of ἐξελέγονται. Cf. inf. 42, "but the troops on whose services we reckon in the meantime (the interval up to the completion and arrival of the armament decreed) give proof of their powerlessness just when occasion requires them."

οὔσαι. Participial Copula, here expressed, often omitted.

ἐπὶ, c. gen.; cf. de *Cor.* 10.

ὁ δέ—. The audience are by this time thoroughly ashamed. It needs but to remind them, as Demosthenes does suddenly and apparently without any intermediate transition, of their enemy's contempt, to create a feeling of indignant determination.

εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως. Cf. οἱ ἀσελγείας, § 9.

ἐπιστολάς. ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἐστὶν οὗτος· ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπέστειλεν Εὐβοεῦσι συμβουλευόντων μὴ δεῖν ἐλπίζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν οἱ οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς δύνανται σῶζειν. Schol.

ΕΠΙΣΤ. ΑΝΑΓΝ. One of the *λήμματα*, titles, of documents, generally motions, sometimes of other kinds (as here and *supr.* 30), which the orator read himself, or had read by the clerk, so as to get some rest himself. They were often omitted when the speeches were published and supplied afterwards by interpreters.

38 ὥς οὐκ ἔδει, “alas;” for Demosthenes feels the disgrace of his country. But of course we hear the truth from enemies, if false friends (Eubulus), to avoid risking their popularity, conceal the *real state of affairs* (which is the thought emphasized in this and the following §).

οὐ μὴν ἀλλά. Cf. *Ol.* i. 4.

εἰ ὅσα—. “If the (events, the) reality also will pass over what a man passes over in speaking.” Cf. *Plat. Parm.* 152 v, οὐ γάρ που (τὸ ἐν) πορευόμενόν γε ἐκ τοῦ ποτὲ εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ὑπερβήσεται τὸ νῦν (the present). Others take τὰ πράγματα as object, “if one shall also pass over the facts (reality), wherever, etc.”

χάρις, “complaisance,” *Ol.* iii. 21.

προσήκουσα, “appropriate.”

ζημία γίγνεται, “turns out disastrous.

αἰσχρόν, “a disgrace.”

ἂν ἡ δυσχερῇ, rhythmically identical and strongly assonant with πάντων ὑστερεῖν.

39 οὐκ belongs to δεῖ. Consequently we have here οὐ with the infinitive instead of the regular μή. Cf. *Thuc.* i. 39. 2. *G.* 208. 3.

ἀκολουθεῖν—ἔμπροσθεν. *Liv.* ix. 18, *reges trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur.*

τὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ. Cf. 21.

οὕτω. Sc. δεῖ ἀξιούν. Cf. *Ol.* i. 15.

καὶ τ. πραγμάτων, viz. ἡγεῖσθαι.

ἔν' ἂν δοκῇ. *M. T.* 128.

ἐκείνοις, “them,” emphatic.

διώκειν, “to gallop after the events.” Cf. *Sall. Jug.* 1, *neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus.* *Cic. Balb.* § 9, *an ingenium (abest Pompeio), cum etiam ipsi casus eventusque rerum non duces sed comites eius consiliorum fuerint?*

40 In this absence of all system what is the use of all your power?

πλείστην δύν. Cf. *c. Timocr.* 16. The revenues of the state from mines, taxes, customs and contributions of allies were large (in 340 amounted to 400 talents): vigour, rule and system were wanting. *Introd.* 15.

εἰς δέον τι. § 14.

οὐδέν δ' ἀπολείπετε πολεμεῖν. Lit. "you come nothing short of fighting" (*nihil reliquum facitis quin*), i.e. "you carry on war exactly like—."

οἱ βάρβ. πυκτεύουσιν. τοῖς βαρβάροις αἰσχρὸν ἢ φιλοσοφία καὶ ἡ φιλογυμνασία. Plato, *Symp.* 182 B.

ἀεί, "every time" (he is hit).

τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, "clings to the blow," i.e. lays hold of the place struck. Rehdantz, on Xen. *An.* v. 5. 4. Reiske: *consectatur plagam, facto iam vulnere succurrere festinat.*

πατάξης, "you" more vivid than "one." Cf. *c. Lept.* 33, *F. L.* 188.

ἐκεῖσ' εἰσιν, "go." Cf. Herod. iii. 108, προσδόκιμον ἐς τὴν Κύπρον εἶναι. Eur. *H. F.* 74, ποῖ πατὴρ ἀπεστι γῆς; ἐκεῖσε here perhaps because of ἐτέρωσε; it also avoids the hiatus; there is also derisive alliteration as in the line quoted by Plut. *de garrulitate* 513 A, ὅπου τις ἀλγεί κείσε καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχει.

προβάλλεσθαι, "to protect himself," ἀντὶ τοῦ προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην, Harpocrat. οἱ πυκτεύοντες τῇ προβολῇ κωλύουσι. Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 3. 10. Aeschin. *Timarch.* 74, *Ctes.* 11. πρόβλημα, Soph. *Phil.* 1008. Metaphor from the Palaestra. Cf. *supr.* § 5 ἀθλα. Here we have a complete simile. πυκτεύουσι here "raise the arm against an opponent."

ἐναντῖον, "in the face" (the eyes of the opponent; on which one must fix one's own in the duel, not on the blow itself). Gellius xiii. 28, after Panaetius, *sicut pancratiastae proiectis alte brachiis consistunt caputque et os suum manibus oppositis quasi vallo praemuniunt, ita mens viri prudentis, adversus vim et petulantias iniuriarum providens, etc.*

41 (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων)—καὶ ὑμεῖς. καὶ attaching the thing compared to the simile, as in *Ol.* i. 11. The hearer is to have a full taste of the shameful parallel.

ἄνω κάτω, "over hill and dale," a common assonance in several languages.

στρατηγείσθ', "the leader of your army is Philip (your enemy," *supr.* 24, *Ol.* iii. 6), while you in your blindness see nothing (οἷδὲν οἷδὲ οὐδέν) beforehand (πρὸ προορ. πρίν).

πύθησθε—πύθησθε. *δντα* is omitted after Φίλιππον, cf. *supr.* 18. Cf. *Ol.* ii. 5—7. ηὔξῃθη—ηὔξῃθη. It is a peculiarity of the Demosthenic style to introduce within a speech small complete passages beginning and ending with the same or similar words, an expansion of the rhetorical κύκλος. It contributes to clearness.

ταῦτα—, "for such proceedings there was perhaps room enough, but we have reached the summit (crisis, cf. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς, *Eur. Phoen.* 1087, *Ar. Pl.* 215), so that room remains no longer"; (but if they go on there will be a fatal disaster). Note the continuous carrying out of vivid metaphor, ἐνῆν, ἤκει, ἐγχωρεῖ, which is frequent in Demosthenes. Cf. *Ol.* ii. 5, *Cic. Cat.* ii. § 2. 3, *Liv.* ii. 1. 5, etc.

42. θεῶν τις ἐμβαλεῖν Φίλιππῳ. A large and startling view like this was quite intelligible to the Greek people made familiar by epos and tragedy with the *Deus ex machina*: only the speech of the Orator, as a picture of real relations, must make the deity operate through men. Cf. *Isocr.* iv. 84. τὴν φιλοπρ. Cf. *Ol.* i. 14 τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ἣ χρῆται καὶ σύζῃ Φίλιππος.

τοῖς γιγνομένοις and ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλ. join with αἰσχυρόμενος, cf. *Thuc.* iii. 98, τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φοβούμενος τοὺς Ἀθ.

ἀποχρῆν. The word has the strong emphasis of moral indignation, and therefore the "pathetic" position. The subject of ἀποchr. is, according to *Rehd.*, the (completely developed) relative-clause (37 n.) ἐξ ᾧ—, *unde contracturi eramus*—, which ends with δημοσίᾳ in the "significant" position as in *F. L.* 267. "Some would have been content with the disgrace—of the country." It seems better, however, with *Westerman* to understand ταῦτα with ἀποchrῆν—referring it to the preceding clause ἔχων—ἐπραττεν ἔτι.

αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν and ἀνανδρίαν ὀφλεῖν both occur. The combination of the two is not logical, but serves for emotional effect (*Affekte*). Cf. *Ol.* i. 26, ii. 3. 8.

ἐπιχειρῶν, "actively undertaking."

τοῦ πλείονος. Cf. *qui peut le plus, peut le moins.* *Thuc.* iv. 17. 3. *Ol.* iii. 3. *Eur. Iono.* ζητῶν τὰ πλείονα εἶτα πάντ' ἀπώλεσεν.

ὀρεγόμενος, "straining after."

ἐκκαλέσαιο, "challenge, provoke," *excitare.* *Aeschin. F. L.* 3.

ἀπεγνώκατε, "have ceased to pay attention to the matter." Lit. have your thoughts turned away from. Cf. ἀπηρτημένοι ταῖς γνώμαϊς *supr.* 12, *Ol.* iii. 33.

43 θαυμάζω εἰ. *M. T.* 120.

ὁρῶν τὴν μὲν—τὴν δὲ—. The antistrophically constructed period (*Ol.* i. 10) concludes with the sharp contrast: τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον (cf. § 7 and *Ol.* iii. 1)—παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. "At the beginning of the war the question was how to take revenge on Philip (for Amphipolis), at the end it has come to this, how to avoid being ruined by Philip."

περὶ—ὑπὲρ: interchange of synonymous words. Cf. *supr.* 2 n., ὑπὲρ defensive here.

ὅτι γε, "that," emphasized by γε. Cf. *de Cor.* 313, because a more complete thought is implied: ἀλλὰ μὴν (πεισόμεθα κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ στήσεται). These thoughts, not expressed or indicated only by emphasis, make the style of Demosthenes energetic and weighty. Cf. *supr.* 8, *Ol.* iii. 6. 18.

στήσεται, "keep quiet," "desist." Cf. Pseudo-Dem. *Phil.* iv. 10, οὐ στήσεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν and *c. Mid.* 102.

εἰ μὴ τις with ind. fut. often expresses a warning. *Classen. Thuc.* iii. 2, 3.

εἶτα, indignant astonishment. Cf. i. 24.

τοῦτο. τὸ παθεῖν κακῶς. The indignation which breaks out here, already audible in the selection of the word ὀργίζεται, brings the objects τριήρ. κεν. and ἐλπίδας to the beginning of the hypothetical clause, *supr.* 29, cf. *Cic. Cat.* iii. § 17.

κενάς, "very incompletely manned." *Ol.* iii. 5.

τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δέινος ἐλπίδας, "uttered by this or that orator." See § 45. *Introd.* 14. Acc. to E. Mueller, "attached to this or that general," perhaps Charidemus, as § 46, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.

καλῶς. Wecklein (*Philologus* xxxix. 172) would strike this out, thus obtaining a more forcible expression, "Do you think you have got everything?" Cf. *Eur. Med.* 570, *Soph. Antig.* 498.

44 The same (43 τοῦτο n.) indignation rising higher and higher prompts the imperious questions (§ 10 n.) to whose stormy impulse the short τραχέα κῶλα correspond: οὐκ ἔξ. αὐτοὶ | μέρει γέ τ. στρ. οἰκ. | νῦν εἰ καὶ μὴ πρ. (*supr.* 7 init.). So that the utterance—quite unlike that of Isocrates—is somewhat jerky and abrupt—in order to hurl as it were the Athenians on to the scene of war.

ἤρετό τις. A fiction of the orator's.

εὐρήσει. Cf. *de Symm.* 23, εἴ τι καὶ παρελείπομεν νῦν, αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἐαντῷ εὐρήσει. The rapid reply to the by no means groundless objection proves to the hearers and inspires them with the orator's own self-confidence. Cf. *supr.* 10. Tacitus *Hist.* ii. 77 has in view this and the similar passage, *Ol.* ii. 21, *aperiet et recludet contexta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.* The clause εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρά (*Ol.* ii. 21) is at once emphatic, because it opens the chiasmus, the main weight of which falls on the final clause οὐδέ ποτ' οὐδὲν μὴ γένηται, "surely nothing which we require will ever happen." *M. T.* 184. 185. 2. Note rhythmical correspondence and assonance between αἰτιωμένων—λεγόντων and οὐδὲν ἡμῖν—δεόντων.

45 οἶμαι gives the expression an ethical shade often difficult to understand. Here some slight feeling of derision is represented by its brevity. Cf. *supr.* 10. *Ol.* ii. 23.

κἂν μὴ πᾶσα, sc. ἀποσταλῇ.

τὸ τ. θεῶν, § 12 n. *Thuc.* iv. 18. 3, τὸ τῆς τύχης οἶεσθαι αἰετ' ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι. With εὐμενές supply ἐστι. Others take εὐμενές as subject and make συναγων. the common predicate. For the thought compare *Ol.* ii. 1 and 22, *de Cor.* 253.

οἶποι δ'. The separate clauses (κῶλα) στρατηγὸν | καὶ ψήφ. κενὸν | κ. τ. ἀ. βήμ. ἐλπ. | rise progressively, cf. 46 s.f., and their order could not be changed.

κενόν. τὸ λόγοις μόνον γιγνόμενον ἄνευ πραγμάτων. Schol.

καταγελῶσι—τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς—, "laugh at—are in mortal terror of—," τῷ δέει forming with the verb one idea which thus governs an accusative. Cf. *Soph. Aj.* 82, *Eur. Hec.* 812, *Dem. F. L.* 92 (81) *Shilleto n.*

Here again Epitritic Rhythm, as at end of 44, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τ. δ. γίγνεται—οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγ.—or ditrochees οἱ δὲ σύμμ.—δέει.

46 ἔστιν—ἔστιν. *Supr.* 10 πότε note, and 18. Here however the repetition is made more pointed by the sarcastic ἔστι at the end of the chiasmus, "is possible:" followed by the short and weighty clause which expresses the bitter consequences, "the common weal is thereby ruined." Cf. *Phil.* ii. 22, *Livy.* iii. 68, *communis res per haec loco est peiore.* If we have here, which greatly heightens the effect of the words, real persons and real relations well known to the Athenians, ἓνα ἄνδρα "a solitary individual," a general without troops and money, and ὁ στρατηγὸς would refer to Charidemus and Chares; so also ὑποσχέσθαι and φῆσαι, "to make promises and say yes;"

αἱ Σάρητος ὑποσχέσεις were proverbial, ἐπὶ τῶν προχείρως ἐπαγγελλομένων πολλά, Zenob. ii. 13; although elsewhere Demosthenes takes the part of Chares. *F. L.* 332.

ἀθ. ἀπομ. ξέν., "wretched mercenaries without pay."

οἱ δέ, "and people who"—.

ὑπέρ. Cf. 2, 43.

ἐκεῖ is wanting in Σ, but the Scholiasts give evidence for it; it might easily fall out after ἐκεῖνος.

ῥαδίως, take with ψευδόμενοι, "lightly, recklessly," *de Cor.* 126.

ἐνθάδ' ὧσιν=are here on the spot and always ready. As one of those who did not scruple to lie when addressing the people the Scholiast mentions Cephisodotus an enemy of Chares. *Ar. Rhet.* iii. 10.

ἐνθάδε, in Athens; but trustworthy information could be obtained only in the neighbourhood of the army.

ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε, "on any hearsay at the time."

ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε, "at random," whatever you may hit upon.

τί καὶ χρή προσδοκᾶν; The period ὅταν γὰρ—προσδοκᾶν has the structure a, b, c, A; the whole force of the three protases is gathered up by the short apodosis (§ 33 n.) in the question put in four sharply accented words: "what *can* one expect?"

χρή, "can." Cf. *Lys.* xxviii. 2, καίτοι πῶς αὐτοῖς χρή συγγνώμην ἔχειν ὅταν ὀρᾶτε. *Thuc.* i. 91.

τί καί; καὶ following an interrogative particle gives special emphasis to the idea of *interrogation*—*non solum quid sed etiam an aliquid expectandum sit quaerit*. Cf. *Herod.* i. 11, τέψ καὶ τρόψ; in what way, if it be possible in any way? See Abicht's note. § 41 nothing will be done, 45 nothing is done, 46 nothing can be done.

47 ὅταν ὑμεῖς—. This unwelcome invitation is cautiously introduced § 20, earnestly emphasized § 33, stormily repeated § 44, set in brighter colours § 45 τὸ τῶν θεῶν, and here again maintained with terrible energy.

ὅταν after πῶς stronger than ἐάν.

στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας, on the one hand "soldiers and therewith witnesses," on the other hand καὶ δικαστάς.

τῶν στρατηγούμενων, § 25.

ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, with emphasis as ὑμεῖς at the beginning of the §, cf. 34. Parataxis of pronouns expressing ideas nearly related, cf. *de Rhod.* lib. 15. For greater emphasis also Demosthenes chooses the construction, accusative and infinitive. This is possible, because the two subjects may be distinguished, ὑμεῖς the whole people, ὑμᾶς the Athenians sent to the seat of war.

κρίνεται, generally with the simple genitive, here takes the preposition for the sake of "conciinnitas" with ἀγωνίσασθαι, "is put on his trial for his life."

ἀνδραποδ. "Kidnappers" often joined with λωποδυνῶν. *Phil.* iii. 22.

κακούργου—ἔστι, "a common malefactor dies..."

48 And now how do these citizens occupy themselves who sport thus with the lives of their generals? Their whole political activity moves in the circle which begins with περιμόντες (§ 10) and ends with περιερχόμεθα. Cf. ἡϋξημένον—ἡϋξήθη. *Ol.* ii. 6, 7, *supr.* 41 note.

περιμόντες, "as they lounge about."

Λακεδαιμονίων. *Dem. F. L.* 76, *Aeschin. F. L.* 133.

πολιτείας. The πολιτεία ("constitution") κατ' ἐξοχήν in the mouth of an Athenian is naturally the democratic. *Ar. Pol.* iv. 2, v. 6.

διασπᾶν (dependent on φασί not on πράττειν) points to the breaking up of the Boeotian and Arcadian confederacies. *Dem. pro Megalop.* 30, *Isocr.* v. 91, *Grote* xi. 66.

φάναι followed by ὥς, only here. πεπομφέναι would cause hiatus.

βασιλέα, the King of Persia, Artaxerxes III. Ochus, from whom the Athenians were expecting another Persian war and so had their attention diverted from their real enemy, Philip. Cf. *Dem. de Symmor.* 11, 41, *de Rhod. lib.* 6, 24. *Introd.* 6.

Ἰλλυριοῖς. The Illyrian and Paconian chieftains in alliance with the Thracian Cersobleptes were subdued by Philip, *supr.* 4. He then probably erected fortresses in their territory. *Introd.* 6.

οἱ δέ—λόγους. This οἱ δέ seems to be about to introduce some fresh political conjecture like the preceding οἱ μέν and οἱ δέ: but Demosthenes breaks off (compare the last εἶτα in § 37, the last ὥς, *F. L.* 73, and the imitation of this passage in *Lucian, Icarom.* § 20, *de imagin.* 14, *quomodo histor. conser.* 3)

and concludes with the general statement λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος, but startles the audience with περιερχόμεθα, not περιέρχονται, thus labelling the whole worthy assembly as political story tellers and gossip mongers, οἱ λογοποιοῦντες, § 49.

ἕκαστος, partitive apposition, cf. 7.

49 μεθύειν. Cf. Hor. Od. i. 37. 12 *fortuna dulci ebria* (Cleopatra). Plat. Rep. viii. 562 D.

πολλά ὄνειροπολεῖν. ὄνειροπολεῖ θ' ἵππους, Ar. Nub. 16.

τ. ἔρημίαν τῶν, "the lack of such as would"—*solitudo magistratuum*. Livy vi. 35.

οὐ μέντοι. "Yet I certainly do not (believe)." In οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι (intend) πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν the sharp τ is dominant as in the sarcastic τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὀμματ' εἰ, Soph. O. T. 371. Cf. *Electr.* 264. 915. *Aj.* 687.

οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. Cf. 10. That is, according to the end of § 48, all the Athenians. λογοποιήσαντες* πλασάμενοι λόγους ψευδεῖς. Hesych.

50 Demosthenes continues in the first person. ἀλλά, "Rather—" ταῦτα, "that idle gossip." ἐκεῖνο, "this," referring to what follows. Cf. *F. L.* 68.

εἰδῶμεν. *M. T.* 161. Sensible people remain within the sphere of that which they know (εἰδῶμεν and εἰδέναι commencing and closing thought 41 n.) and it is enough for us if we know all (ὅτι καὶ—καὶ—καὶ—καὶ—κἀν) that has befallen us and lies before us. The length of the clauses increases with the increasing excitement.

τινὰ, "some one, as we expected, was to do for us." The Athenians hoped for something at one time from Philip, at another from Onomarchus, or Cersobleptes, or Charidemus, never from themselves.

ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν. Antithesis, cf. *Ol.* iii. 12, *supr.* 5. 24, *Ar. Rhet.* iii. 9.

εὔρηται, sc. πράξας, c. *Aristog.* 7, or πραχθέντα? *F. L.* 241.

ἐν ἡμῖν, "the future depends on ourselves."

νῦν. *M. T.* 103.

ἴσως. Demosthenes does not repeat this "perhaps" in the *Olynthiæcs.*

ἔσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες. *M. T.* 44. Note 3.

φαῦλα, sc. ἔσται.

51 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν. A frequent form of transition to the epilogue in Lysias. It brings into prominence the orator's own conduct or personal conviction or an entreaty.

οὔτε—τε, *neque—et, non solum non—sed etiam*. Cf. Herod. vii. 8. 1.

ἂν πεπ. ὦ. "I have been (and still am) convinced." The perfect subjunctive in general relative-clauses indicates, more precisely than the aorist, the moment when the action of the apodosis begins. Goodwin takes εἰλόμην as almost a gnomic aorist. *M. T.* 131. The earlier speeches of Demosthenes were *περὶ συμμοριῶν* 354, *ὑπὲρ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν* and *κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους* 352. *Introd.* 11 ff.

ὑποστειλάμενος. *Lit.* "furling sail," i.e. "shrinking from." See *F. L.* 390 (338) Shilleto n.

πεπαρρησάσμαι. The reader who has reached this point will readily assent to this statement. Demosthenes has spoken with extraordinary freedom, and without anywhere introducing Prodiorthosis or apology. This he never omits in his later speeches, when he had acquired greater knowledge of the weakness of human nature.

ἐβουλόμην ἂν, *vellem*. The ind. with ἂν in the expression of a wish for something which is not possible or is not the case.

συνοίσον, *sc.* τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπεῖν. This apprehension on his own account Demosthenes expresses again, *Ol.* i. 16, iii. 32, never afterwards.

ἐπ' ἀδήλοis κ.τ.λ. "in spite of the uncertainty of the consequences that will result to myself from—," ἐπὶ—ὅμως, cf. *Thuc.* viii. 97. ἐπὶ c. dat. of the ground or basis on which one acts, etc.

ἀπὸ τούτων and the following ταῦτα, "these proposals of mine."

ἐπὶ τῷ—πεπεῖσθαι. A form of ὑπερβατὸν (καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν), the article being separated from its proper word. αἰροῦμαι λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ πεπ. (in the conviction that) ἂν πράξιτε ταῦτα (the conditional clause subject to) συνοίσειν ὑμῖν.

νικῶν, *M. T.* 174. ὃ τι μέλλει, *M. T.* 126.

πᾶσιν, "us all."

συνοίσειν, for the fifth time in this section (*Traductio Cic. de Or.* iii. 206). The word is a fitting termination for a λόγος συμβουλευτικός, the object of which is the συμφέρον so strongly emphasized by Dem. in this paragraph. The last word is generally one of good omen. Cf. *Ol.* i. iii. *de Chers. Phil.* iii. *de Cor.*

APPENDIX.

THE ATHENIAN POPULAR ASSEMBLY.

NEAR the northern gate of modern Athens the guide points out to strangers a great block of stone eleven feet square with a mutilated platform, which he calls τὸ βῆμα¹, said to be the world-famed orators' tribune on the old Pnyx, where in the time of Demosthenes the popular assembly was wont to meet. The seats of the audience surrounded it in the form of an amphitheatre, and they had before their eyes the hill of Mars ("Αρειος πάγος), and further on the sea covered with ships, and Salamis crowned with victory, while the orator looked out above his hearers towards the Acropolis with its splendid buildings. On his right was the council-chamber (βουλευτήριον²), and, near it, more than one sacred temple. Four times in each of the ten Prytanies (periods of 35—36 days, in leap years of 38 or 39) the regular popular assembly met (ἐκκλησία ἐγίγνετο³), where the regularly recurring business was despatched. Extraordinary assemblies (ἐκκλησίαι σύγκλητοι) on special occasions were announced by messengers sent throughout the country: the councillors serving in committee at the time (i. e. the Prytanes), and through their agency the generals, were competent to summon such meetings. The assembly consisted of rich manufacturers and merchants, well-to-do landowners,

¹ It is now more generally maintained that this block of stone was an altar, and the semicircular area surrounding it a τέμενος, of Zeus. See Philologus xix. 374, xx. 529 and 574; on the other side Dyer's Ancient Athens, p. 468 and Appendix.

² Hegesippus de Halonn. 33. PseudoDem. Phil. iv. 53.

³ de Halonn. 19. de Chers. 33. Aeschin. F. L. 83 and 72.

less wealthy artisans, ship-captains, artists, poverty-stricken old men, dainty fine gentlemen, honest old-fashioned Athenians, bearded Laconizers, not many discreet lovers of the fatherland, very many political newsmongers: an assembly of at most eight thousand men of the most different interests, opinions, manners, but all alike jealous for their sovereignty and unaccustomed to control their southern vehemence of temper, habituated moreover to a vain self-complacency, and an aesthetic⁴ rather than matter-of-fact way of looking at things,—the task of influencing such an assembly was far more difficult than that of the modern orator. A sacrifice for purification preceded each assembly. This was followed by the burning of incense and a solemn prayer, which the herald recited following the dictation of the state-clerk. Then the president (ὁ ἐπιστάτης⁵) laid before the meeting (προτίθησι⁶) the subjects of the day's deliberations, which in the case of the regular assemblies were usually made known four days before. If these were accompanied by a recommendation of the council (προβούλευμα), the people voted upon it, or commenced independent deliberation (σκοπεῖν or βουλεύεσθαι περὶ or ὑπὲρ τινος⁷): and the herald invited those citizens who would to speak⁸. But of course there were never more than a few who, even after careful preparation, trusted their powers to speak before so spoiled an audience, and possessed boldness enough to give the sovereign people counsel (συμβουλεύειν⁹) concerning the highest interests of the state (περὶ τῶν ὅλων¹⁰). These few speakers who usually came forward (οἱ εἰσθότες λέγειν¹¹), were called especially the statesmen (οἱ πολιτευόμενοι¹²), or the orators (οἱ

⁴ So far back as 427 Cleon had to say εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων. Thuc. iii. 83.

⁵ In the time of Demosthenes the ἐπιστάτης was chosen by lot from among nine προεδροί, themselves daily chosen by lot from each of the non-pyranising φυλαί. See Hicks in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. iii.

⁶ Ol. iii. 18. Phil. i. 1, 24, 46. de Cor. 273.

⁷ Phil. i. 1, 31, 36.

⁸ Aeschin. Timarch. 26. Ctes. 12. Cf. the phrases λόγον αἰτεῖσθαι, δεδῶναι, λαβεῖν.

⁹ Ol. iii. 3. de Chers. 73.

¹⁰ Ol. ii. 51. de Cor. 273. Aeschin. Ctes. 136. 'summa rerum' in Livy.

¹¹ Phil. i. 1.

¹² Ol. iii. 30. de Chers. 33.

λέγοντες¹³, or οἱ ῥήτορες¹⁴), in opposition to the *ιδιώται*¹⁵. Their position, dangerous as it was honourable, was without any official character, merely a matter of the personal confidence which each of them possessed with the people. He who wished to speak stood up (*ἀνέστη*¹⁶), and stepping on to the orators' tribune (*παρελθών*¹⁷ or past pres. or imperf. *παριών*¹⁸) expounded in a speech of more or less detail his view (*γνώμην*¹⁹, not *τὴν γνώμην*, or *ἃ γινώσκει*²⁰, *ἀπεφήνατο*²¹, or *ἀπέδειξατο*). During his speech he wore, as a token of inviolability, a myrtle crown, and though the Proedri might inflict a fine for unbecoming language, he was in other respects legally irresponsible for his utterances (*ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παρρησία*²²). But he became legally responsible for a year if he had previously moved in writing (*ἔγραψε*²³) that which he proposed to the people (*εἶπε, λέγει*²⁴). Then, whether the motion had become a decree or not, any one might, within this period, prosecute the mover on a charge of illegality (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*²⁵); the declaration upon oath, that a person wished to institute such a prosecution, effected the suspension of the validity of the decree until a judicial decision had been obtained. The presiding officers (*πρόεδροι*) examined proposals handed in to them, to see if they contained nothing illegal, and if they seemed admissible, put them to the vote (*ἐπιψηφίζειν*²⁶). The people voted on each proposal by raising the hand (*χειροτονεῖ, ἐπιχειροτονεῖ*²⁷, most commonly *ψηφίζεται*²⁸): the view (*ἃ ἔδοξε*²⁹) of the majority

¹³ Phil. i. 44.¹⁴ Ol. ii. 29.¹⁵ Aeschin. Tim. 7.¹⁶ Phil. i. 1.¹⁷ Ol. ii. 8, iii. 28.¹⁸ Ol. iii. 21.¹⁹ de Cor. 189. Aeschin. Ctes. 2.²⁰ Phil. i. 1 and 51.²¹ *γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι* Phil. i. 1. de Cor. 189. Aeschin. Ctes. 2. *γν. ἀποδεδειγμένος*. Lys. xii. 27.²² Phil. i. 51.²³ Phil. i. 33.²⁴ Ol. iii. 12. 18. 19. 34.²⁵ de Halonn. 43.²⁶ Aeschin. F. L. 65. Ctes. 75.²⁷ Phil. i. 30. de Cor. 248. 'To make valid' is *κυροῦν*, 'to reject' *ἀποχειροτονεῖν*.²⁸ Ol. i. 2, iii. 4. Voting with actual voting-stones *ψηφοί*, and therefore in secret, only took place in certain cases where the personal interests of individuals were concerned.²⁹ Phil. i. 36. The regular initial formula of decrees of the people was *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*.

was announced (*ἀναγορεύεται*³⁰) by the president as a valid decree of the people (*κύριον ψήφισμα*³¹), and the original document of the decree, if it was not engraven on stone³², was in any case deposited in the Archives (the shrine of the Mother of the gods *τὸ Μητροῦν*³³) with the other state-documents (*τὰ δημόσια γράμματα*).

³⁰ Aeschin. Ctes. 3.

³¹ de Chers. δ. Ol. iii. 14.

³² The usual expression is *ἀναγράφαι ἐν* (more rarely *εἰς*) *στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν*, see notes to Phil. iii. 41. 43.

³³ Harpocration, F. L. 129. Aeschin. F. L. 89. Ctes. 13.

GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES EXPLAINED IN THE NOTES.

The pages of Goodwin's Moods and Tenses and of his Grammar are referred to, unless sections are specially mentioned.

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------|
| § 1. | Imperf. of Continued Action. | |
| | Repetition of <i>ἄν</i> | M. T. 62. 3. |
| | Aor. after <i>ἕως</i> of result not attained | M. T. 142. |
| | Secondary tenses of Indic. in conditional sentence | M. T. 94, 95. |
| 2. | Genitive (Partitive) | G. 220. |
| | Impf. Ind. by Assimilation | M. T. 136. 2. |
| | Aor. Inf. after <i>ἐλπὶς ἦν</i> | M. T. 33, and 14, Note 2. |
| 3. | <i>οἷον δὲν</i> with Subj. | M. T. §§ 62, 63. 2. |
| | <i>ἐκ</i> with Genitive of <i>origin</i> | G. 237. 3. c. |
| 5. | <i>εἰ</i> with Impf. Indic. | M. T. 95, 96 Rem. b. and 64. |
| | <i>ἄν</i> expressed with one verb to be supplied with another | G. 256. 4. |
| 6. | Relative with <i>ἄν</i> and subj. | M. T. 10, 130. |
| 7. | Genitive Possessive with <i>εἶναι</i> cf. § 19 | G. 221. |
| | Partitive Apposition | G. 196, n. 2. |
| 9. | Partitive Gen. | G. 220. |
| | <i>οἶος</i> and <i>οἷός τε</i> | G. 210, top. |
| 11. | Two protases belonging to one apodosis | M. T. 119. 1. |
| 15. | <i>ἕως ἄν</i> | M. T. 143 |
| | Protasis expressed in <i>οὕτω</i> | M. T. 110, 111. |
| | Genitive of Time | G. 227. |

16. Participle after $\omega\varsigma$ M. T. 231, n. 10. (b).
 Partitive Gen. after adj. G. 220.
17. Optative with $\alpha\nu$ of independent sentence
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 to leading verb M. T. 48, 49.
18. $\alpha\nu$ with Opt. in protasis M. T. 107, note 2 (a).
20. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\varsigma$, 'See you do not' G. 262, n. 4. M. T. 82.
21. Relative with $\alpha\nu$ and Subj. cf. §§ 6, 39 M. T. 128.
 Dative with Verbal Substantive, cf. § 28 G. § 185.
23. Imperf. Infinitive M. T. 15.
25. Neuter Pass. Partic. as Substantive
26. Aor. Subj. less precise than Perf. Subj. M. T. 28, n. 2.
27. $\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\nu$ with and without $\alpha\nu$, difference
 between G. 268, n. 2.
 Indic. of that which is not the case G. 261. 3. M. T.
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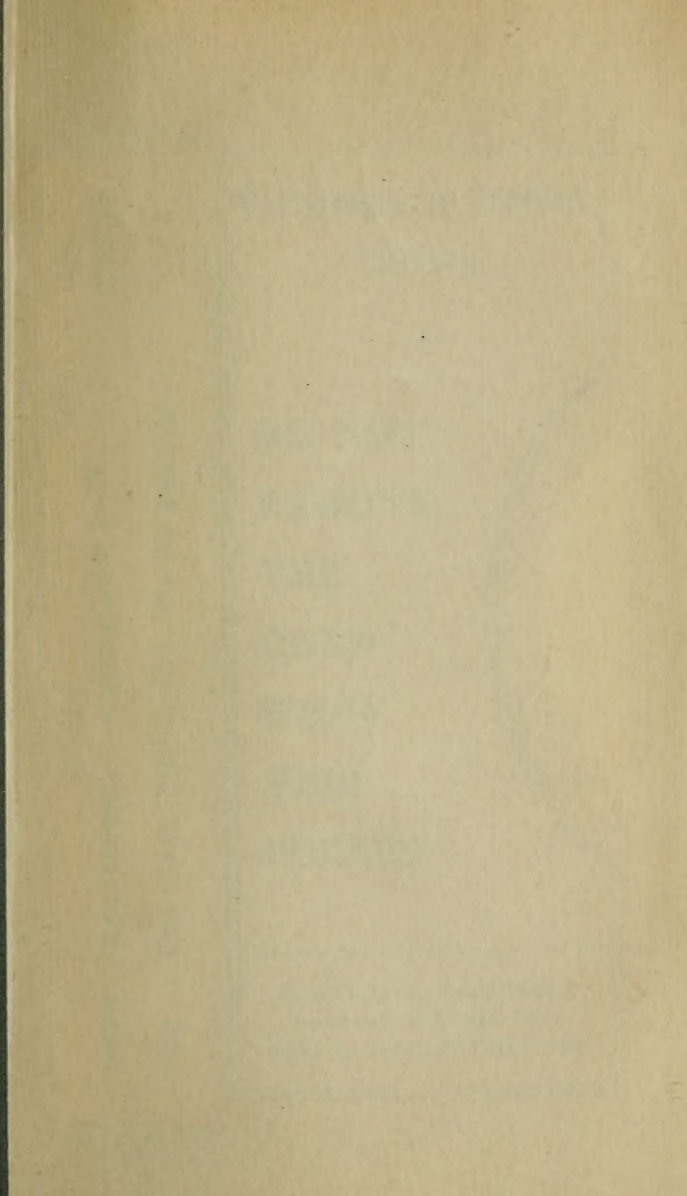
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